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*The*  
*Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*

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**MONOGRAPH No. 8.**

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**CASTE — BHOPE or BHUTE.**

*LOCALITY — POONA, SATARA, KOLABA,  
AND RATNAGIRI.*

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PUBLISHED BY THE  
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## Bhōpe (भोपे) or Bhute (भुते).

The Bhopes are a religious order recruited from among Bráhmans and Maráthas. They were returned as numbering 80 at the census of 1901, but many of them must have been entered under the name of the parent caste. They are chiefly found in Poona, Sátára, Kolába and Ratnágiri.

Bhopes have the same surnames as Maráthas. They are called Bhōpe or Bhute because they are devotees of the goddess Bhaváni.

The rules regarding marriage are the same as amongst the Maráthas.

Marriage can only take place between those families between whom a connection can be traced within the last four or five generations or earlier. Families entirely unconnected cannot intermarry. There are no exogamous divisions.

At Tuljápúr in the Nizam's territory there is a temple of the goddess Bhaváni. A family by name Kadam, consisting of about fifty branches, hold the entire village in Inám. They are the hereditary priests of the goddess. They resemble the Badves at other sacred places. They help the pilgrims who visit the place by arranging for their lodgings, food, etc. Bráhman and Marátha families who have Bhaváni for their family goddess visit the place at times, and the offerings made by them are received as a right by these priests. Vákaji Kadam is their head or Pátíl, and he has the third share in the offerings.

Bhutes can dine with Maráthas in the same row. They are superior to Gondhalis who recite religious songs and wear strings of *kavadi* shells. The latter form a distinct and lower caste.

Their head-quarters are Tuljápúr, Kolhápúr and other places. They stay at Tuljápúr for two months, *viz.*, Ashvin and Kártik (October and November), and go to the fair at Kondanpur on the 15th of Már-gashirsha (December). They then travel in the districts of Poona, Sátára, Nagar, Thána, Bhor, Phaltan and Bombay for four months begging alms, and return to their native places at the end of Jeshtha (June), where they pass the rainy season.

Bhutes admit outsiders into their caste, but only from the Maráthas and Bráhmans. When a Marátha or Bráhman has no issue or his children are short-lived, he makes a vow that if he begets two children he will offer one to the goddess Bhaváni and make him a Bhutya. This child, when grown up, is taken to Tuljápúr. There the head Bhute or Pátíl Kadam obtains the consent of the goddess to make him a Bhutya, worships her and puts the string of the *kavadi* shells worn by himself round the neck of the new-comer. He then admits him to

his caste and makes the fact known to the whole Bhute community. If the new-comer is poor he wears the badge of the goddess and begs in her name.

There are Bhutes among Bráhmans, especially among the Deshasths, who commonly offer their children to the goddess. There are Bráhma-man families at Dehu whose males as well as females wear strings of *kavadi* shells, worship the goddess and beg in her name at least at five houses on Tuesdays and Fridays, and also keep the *kavadi* string amongst the house gods and worship it. These are Bhutes by vow. They are not professional beggars like the Marátha Bhutes.

Besides worshipping Bhaváni they also worship Khandoba of Jejuri, Bahiroba and Jotiba of Ratnágiri.

The badge of the Bhutes is a string of *kavadi* shells with an image of the goddess in the centre, a torch of rags and a *tuntune* or one-stringed fiddle. They wear the string round their neck and offer it to the goddess and worship it.

The original occupation of Bhutes is begging. They are followers of the goddess Bhaváni, and go begging from door to door and village to village with a lighted torch in their hands and playing metal cups or *táls*, the one-stringed fiddle or *tuntune*, and the drum or *samel*. They cover themselves with shells from head to foot, mark their brow with red-powder or *pinjar*, and have a square breast plate or *ták* hung from their necks. While begging they dance, sing songs and touch their bodies with the lighted torch or *pót*.







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**MONOGRAPH No. 9.**

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**CASTE—JOHARI.**

*LOCALITY—KHANDESH, SHOLAPUR,  
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Joháris ( जौहारी ) or Javeris ( जव्हेरी ), numbering 846, including 448 men and 398 women, are chiefly found in Khándesh, Sholápur, Ahmadnagar, Násik and Poona. Their occupation is dealing in jewelry, the name johári being derived from *javáhir* (jewelry). There are three endogamous divisions of the caste Bāramāse, Akaramāse, and Dahāmāse, the first being superior to the other two and the second being superior to the third. The names Akaramāses and Dahāmases probably mean eleven and ten *māsās*,\* that is one and two *māsās* short of the full *tola* as these two divisions are formed of the illegitimate children of the members of the caste and the outsiders admitted into the caste. There are 22½ exogamous sub-divisions of the caste known as Gaud, Gujar, Lava, Ráthod, Bhatti, Bhais, Agdode, Sonyáráthod, Badgujar, Bám, Dasavantas, Shishode, Digoa, Kápasha, Nathiyán, Thák, Sonyáphadyá, Kativále, Suni, Sarvativále, Pathiván, Gádría, and Ardháduba, the last being the half sub-division. The full sub-divisions are found only among the Bāramāses, the half sub-division being formed from the other two divisions. Marriages cannot take place in the same sub-division. Sameness of *devak* is a bar to inter-marriage. Marriages are prohibited between descendants on the paternal uncle and maternal aunt's side. A member of the caste may marry his father's sister's or maternal uncle's daughter. He is allowed to marry two sisters, and brothers may marry sisters. The caste is believed to have come from Northern India during the time of the Peshwás for purposes of trade, but it no longer inter-marries with the parent stock. It is said that the caste is formed of children of a Shudra father by a Vaishya mother. The fact of each of the sub-divisions having a separate *devak* or god of the exogamous section suggests an original totemistic organization. As a rule outsiders are not admitted into the caste, but sometimes young boys of other castes are admitted without performing any ceremony when they become *dahámases* of the *ardhadubá* section. Boys are generally married from the age of ten to twenty, and girls even after they attain puberty. Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated. If a girl commits sexual indiscretions she is turned out of the caste unless the man involved is a casteman, when she is allowed to remain in the caste as his mistress, and her children by him are admitted to the *ardhadubá* exogamous section. Polygamy is allowed and practised. In theory a man can marry any number of wives, but in actual life no instance is found of a man having more than three. Polyandry is unknown.

The offer of marriage is made by the boy's father. The settlement of the marriage day and the ceremony itself are entrusted to the caste priest. The most important of the marriage ceremonies

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\* A *māsa* is a measure of weight among goldsmiths amounting to nearly 6½ grains and being one-twelfth of a *tola*, the goldsmiths' common measure.

are *Vágnischaya*, *Simántpujan*, *Lagna*, *Bhovari-phirane*, and *Kanyádán*. The first three appear to be copied from the Deshasth Bráhmans. The *Bhovari-phirane*, i.e. walking round the sacred fire, corresponds to the Bráhmanic *Saptapadi* and is the binding portion of the ceremony. *Kanyádán*, i.e. giving away of the bride, consists in tying together both the hands of the bride and bridegroom separately with a cotton thread and placing thereon copper coins and pouring water on them by all present. It is believed that by performing this ceremony the whole caste get the *punya* (merit) of making a gift of a daughter. In Násik their marriages are always celebrated at night after nine o'clock, the bridegroom wearing a yellow or red robe reaching to the feet. The *devuks* or marriage guardians of the caste consist of the *pánchpálvi*, i.e. leaves of five kinds of trees which are tied to a post of the marriage booth, every exogamous section having a separate *devuk*.

Remarriage of widows is allowed, but it is not much in vogue. A widow is not allowed to marry her mother's sister's son or a relation of her deceased husband. A widow's marriage is always celebrated on a dark night, but especially on the last day of the month. No woman is allowed to be present on the occasion. Only a priest and a male member of the caste are present. The widow and her new husband are seated on a bullock's packsaddle and made to worship Ganpati. The priest then fills the widow's lap and makes the couple drink milk from the same cup, this being the essential portion of the ceremony. It is considered unlucky for unwidowed women to see the widow's face three days before or after the marriage takes place. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is allowed. A divorced woman can remarry according to the *pút* (widow remarriage) ceremony. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

They are Hindus and belong to the Nának sect. They worship all the Hindu deities and *tulas* or the sweet basil plant. The joháris of Poona seem to specially reverence Rám, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, and the hero of the Rámáyan. They observe all the Hindu holidays, their chief holidays being *Rámnávami*, *Gokul-áshṭami*, and *Navaráttra*. They make pilgrimages to Oudh, Gokarn, Gokul Vrindávan, Tuljápur, Pandharpur and other places. Pearls and precious stones are worshipped on the *Dasara* and the *Rákhi Pournima* day. Images of dead ancestors are installed among the house gods, and worshipped daily along with them. The offerings consist of articles of daily food. If cocoanuts are offered they are taken by the officiating priests. Vows are sometimes made to Musalmán Pirs, and if they are fulfilled, the things promised are offered to them. When cholera breaks out, the goddess supposed to preside over the disease is propitiated by offerings of water. The religious teachers of the caste are *Udásis*, a sect of Gosávis from the Punjab, who are Nánakpanthis in belief and have a monastery, *akhdáda* or *math*, at Trimbak. Joháris profess not to believe in witchcraft or in evil spirits. The priests of the caste are, as a rule, Kanojia Bráhmans, but in their absence De-

shásth Bráhmans are employed. They either burn or bury the dead, burning being more common. At burial the corpse is laid with the head turned to the south. The ordinary funeral rites are performed, and a feast is given to the caste people on the twelfth day. Those who have not the means to give this feast are not allowed to perform the obsequies till they are in a position to give the feast. They perform the *shráddh*.

The occupation of the caste is dealing in pearls, corals, diamonds and other precious stones, and in glass beads. They buy old gold and silver lace, and embroidered clothes, burn them and extract the gold and silver. Their women keep small haberdashery shops, selling wooden and tin boxes, combs, marbles, looking glasses, tops, whistles, dolls, and small brass cups and dishes. The Poona Joháris appear to be hereditary beggars, dealing in old lace and ribands, and professing a knowledge of physic.

The Bombay Gazetteer states that the Joháris of Poona and Sholápur are vegetarians and take no liquor, but a more correct view seems to be that they eat goats, domestic fowls and fish and that they drink liquor.









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**~~CASTE — A'GER.~~**

**~~LOCALITY — KANARA.~~**

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## Ager (ಆಗೇರ).

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A'gers (ಆಗೇರ) or saltmakers (from *ágar* a salt-pan), numbering 2,407, including 1,229 males and 1,178 females, are, with the exception of a few emigrants, found only in the Kánara District. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. The caste has six exogamous sections or *bali*s known as—

- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. Ajjana bali.<br>ಅಜ್ಜನ ಬಳಿ.   | Agga = fruit of the ekke tree<br>( <i>antiaris innoxia</i> ). |
| 2. Ane bali.<br>ಅನೆ ಬಳಿ.        | Ane = elephant.   |
| 3. Kadvina bali.<br>ಕಡವಿನ ಬಳಿ.  | Kadave = elk.   |
| 4. Dyava bali.<br>ದ್ರಾವನ ಬಳಿ.   | Dyava = tortoise.   |
| 5. Shiria bali.<br>ಶಿರಿನ ಬಳಿ.   | Sher or Sherkul = <i>acacia speciosa</i> .                    |
| 6. Gurvin bali.<br>ಗುರುವಿನ ಬಳಿ. | Guruva = a prickly plant.                                     |

Those who belong to the second or elephant division worship the elephant, and do not wear ivory ornaments. The elk or *sambar* group will not kill the *sambar* or eat its flesh. The tortoise *bali* do not eat the tortoise. The tree and plant giving their names to the remaining divisions are never cut or injured by members of these divisions. It is to be inferred from this very complete system of totem sections that the A'gers are a caste of pure Dravidian origin. The *bali* is traced, in their case, through males, both for males and females, and to this extent differs from the more primitive *bali* that is traceable through females, of which instances are numerous in North Kánara.

Marriages are prohibited in the same *bali*. A man may marry his maternal uncle's daughter. He is not allowed to marry his father's, sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He may marry two sisters. Brothers may marry sisters. The caste head-quarters are at Ankola. Outsiders are not admitted into this caste. Girls are married from the age of six to eleven, and boys from six to twenty-five. Polygamy is permitted, but polyandry is unknown. The negotiations for a marriage



riage are commenced by the boy's father. When a match is settled, the boy's father treats the company present to a rupee's worth of toddy. He has to pay to the girl *kennateru*, i. e., a bridal portion of Rs. 4. The marriage ceremonies last four days. On the first day the boy's parents go to the girl's father's house and treat the girl's party to a dinner of rice and cocoanut juice. On the second day the marriage takes place. On the third day the bridegroom takes his bride to his house and a feast is given by his father. The festivities end on the fourth day with a feast by the girl's father. The binding portion of the ceremony consists in throwing sacred grains of rice on the bride and bridegroom.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow may marry her late husband's younger brother, but not the elder. With this exception, she cannot marry a member of her late husband's *ḍali*. A widow's marriage is always celebrated at night during only one month of the year, viz., from the full-moon day of *Bhādrapad* to the full-moon day of *A'svin*. Only a *budhrant* of the caste is present on the occasion. The ceremony consists in presenting to the widow by her new husband a robe, a nose-ring, and a sum of annas five. The widow has to pay to her late husband's relations the sum of Rs. 4 received by her at the time of her first marriage. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow.

A husband may divorce his wife on account of her misconduct. A divorced woman is not allowed to marry again during the life-time of her husband. A peculiar custom of the caste is, that if a divorced woman begets a child, not only is she not excommunicated, but the child is recognized as her husband's legitimate offspring, and he is made to perform its birth ceremonies. If the father of the child is found, he is made to pay a fine of one or two rupees to the caste, which is spent on drinking toddy. If an unmarried widow begets a child, she and her child are allowed to remain in the caste on the widow's paying to the *guru* of the caste a fine of not less than Rs. 12, and an equal amount to the caste.

Religion and  
ceremonies.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance. They are Hindus, and like most Kánara castes chiefly worship Vishnu and his incarnations. Their family god is Viankatráma of Tirupati. They also worship Murkunddev, Sannahossadev, Hulidev (tiger god) and other village gods and goddesses, represented by stones and white ant-hills. They have much faith in soothsaying, witchcraft, and in the powers of the spirits of the dead. They have no images in their houses. They go on pilgrimage to Tirupati, and occasionally to Gokarn during the *Shivrátra* holidays. They observe almost all the Hindu holidays. Every year on a day in April-May, before the monsoon sets in, offerings of goats and cocks are made to the gods. The heads of the offerings are given to the officiating priests, who are Kumbhárs, a portion being distributed among the village officials, and what remains is eaten by the offerers. Similar offerings are also made once a year to Mariamma, or the cholera goddess. The first of these offerings is known as *gadiádvári* and the second as *maritádvári*. They are made by most of the lower castes of Kánara—the first to propitiate the

god presiding over the rains in the hope of plentiful showers, the second to propitiate the cholera goddess. The caste do not employ Bráhmans for ceremonial and religious purposes. All their ceremonies are conducted by the *Budhvants*, or headmen of their caste. The dead are either burnt, or buried with their head to the north. About two pounds of rice grains and a pice are buried with the corpse. On every new-moon day and holiday cooked rice and fish placed on a plantain leaf are offered to the crows for the propitiation of the dead. They do not perform the *shráddh*.

Their hereditary calling is making salt, and they also work as field labourers. They make palm-leaf umbrellas, which are used in Kánara throughout the year. Like the Battáls and other field labourers, they are generally indebted to land-owners, and work off loans by serving on very low wages.

They eat the flesh of goats, hogs, fowls, rats and fish. They drink toddy to excess. They eat at the hands of all castes except Mahárs, Chamgárs, Lingáyats, Jains and Halleers. No caste eats with them. They rank below the cultivating classes and above the impure castes.







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## Mukri ( ಮುಕ್ರಿ ).

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Mukris, numbering 5,082, including 2,486 males and 2,596 females, are found entirely in the district of Kánara. They are sometimes called *Hebbe-gaudas* or old *gaudas*, the latter being a synonym of the Halvakkí Vakkals. The precise meaning of this synonym is obscure, though it would seem to suggest some former connection between the Halvakkí Vakkals and the Mukris. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. Their exogamous subdivisions, known as *balis*, are as follows :—

- |                                 |     |                                    |
|---------------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|
| 1. Kanne bali<br>ಕನ್ನೆ ಬಳಿ      | ... | Kanne = a virgin.                  |
| 2. Tolana bali<br>ತೋಳನ ಬಳಿ      | ... | Tola = a wolf.                     |
| 3. Shendi bali<br>ಶೆಂದಿ ಬಳಿ     | ... | Shendi = toddy.                    |
| 4. Kaudehi bali<br>ಕವಡೇಹಿ ಬಳಿ   | ... | (Unknown.)                         |
| 5. Ane bali<br>ಅನೆ ಬಳಿ          | ... | Ane = elephant.                    |
| 6. Shirin bali<br>ಶಿರಿನ ಬಳಿ     | ... | Sher or sherkul = acacia speciosa. |
| 7. Shetti bali<br>ಶೆಟ್ಟೆ ಬಳಿ    | ... | Shetli or Shetti = a fish.         |
| 8. Dyavana bali<br>ದಯಾವನ ಬಳಿ    | ... | Dyava = tortoise.                  |
| 9. Handi bali<br>ಹಂದಿ ಬಳಿ       | ... | Handi = pig.                       |
| 10. Hebbali bali<br>ಹೆಬ್ಬಳಿ ಬಳಿ | ... | Hebbali = old bali.                |

It has not been possible so far to trace the significance of the Kaudehi *bali*. The members of the Shendi *bali* will not touch toddy nor go beneath the shade of the toddy tree, and similarly with the Shirin *bali*, the tree is avoided and never injured. Members

of the "Elephant" division will not wear ivory ornaments. Descent of the *balis* is traced only through males. The fourth and last of these divisions seems peculiar to the Mukri caste. Others are common among the Dravidian castes of Kánara.

The Mukris speak Kánarese. The names in common use among men are Bolla, Jetti, Bira, Maru, Durgu, Lingu and Nágu; and among women Mari, Kanni, Jethi, Shivi, Yenki and Lingi. They have no stock names or surnames, but they add the word *Halli* or *Mukri* to their names.

#### Organization.

The Mukris are a well-organized communities and have group-heads or *bárkas* and village-heads or *budhvants*, each of whom has an attendant or *kolkar*. Their settlements are divided into forty groups and the groups into four divisions. The four divisions are Hebbankeri in Honávar with eighteen groups; Hegde in Kumta with six groups; Kumta with seven groups; and Gokarn with nine. The village-heads or *budhvants* who are subject to the group-heads or *bárkas* have power to call and preside over councils, to enquire into breaches of caste rules, and to punish offenders in accordance with the opinion of the majority of the members. The decisions are enforced on pain of loss of caste. The greatest social offence is to beat a casteman with a sandal, or to incur a sandal beating from a man of another caste. The punishment for beating or being beaten is a fine varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 16. Of this amount three-quarters are spent on a caste feast. The remaining quarter is paid to the manager of Hanumant's temple, who keeps four annas for himself and places the rest to the credit of the temple funds. When he receives his share of the fine, the priest gives the culprit a little of the water in which the idol has been bathed. The offender, whether the beater or the person who is beaten, is taken to a river, and after bathing is given some holy water, part of which he drinks and part he rubs on his body. The caste is then feasted with palm-beer, rice, curry and sweet gruel. A Mukri who eats with a person of lower caste, or a Mukri widow who becomes pregnant, is turned out of caste. The widow's paramour has to pay a fine and to undergo special purification. On paying the fine, which is spent in the same way as the fine levied on a man who has beaten with a slipper, the offender, with one or more castemen, goes to Gokarn, where his head and face, including top-knot and moustaches, are shaved by a casteman. He is then bathed in the sea, and led to the temple of Mahábaleshvar, where, for the use of the priest, he lays on a plantain leaf two pounds of rice, a coconut and a copper coin. On returning to the village he again bathes in the presence of two caste people and passes through seven temporary cadjan huts which are burnt as soon as he passes through them. When the huts are completely burnt the offender drinks water brought from Hanumant's temple and joins some castemen in a dinner. Adultery by married women is punished by severe beating at the hands either of the husband or the next-of-kin. Insult to a headman or improper conduct at a public meeting is punished with fine up to Re 1, the amount being spent in the same way as the fine levied in a sandal-beating or widow-pregnancy case. Once in two or three years the caste meets at Honjikatta near Chandávar in Honávar. Every man has to take with him four annas, six to eighteen pounds of rice

and a cocoanut. The meeting lasts three to ten days according to the business to be settled. At these meetings offenders against social discipline are tried, and important matters touching the welfare of the community are discussed. The Mukris do not admit outsiders into the caste.

Girls are married either before or after they come of age. Widow marriage and polygamy are allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of betrothal generally comes from the boy's family. The boy's father, with four or five caste men, goes to the girl's father and makes a proposal for the marriage. On the girl's father consenting to the proposal the *tera* or bride-price, which is never less than Rs. 20, is settled, toddy is served, and a dinner of rice and cocoanut milk is given to the assembly. On the day before the ceremonies begin a Havig priest is asked to fix the lucky moment for the marriage, and he is paid six pounds of rice, five cocoanuts and four annas in cash. The marriage ceremonies last four days. On the first day the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house and deck her with ornaments and flowers. Early next morning, from the bride's and bridegroom's, messengers are sent to ask the caste people to the wedding. When the guests come, they are seated on mats spread on the ground in the marriage booth. Special respect is shown to the headmen of the caste by seating them by themselves in a raised part of the booth with an attendant standing behind them. When the guests have come, the bridegroom is dressed in a narrow waistcloth, a shoulder cloth and a head-scarf. He takes in his hand a couple of betel leaves, and, holding a cocoanut in his hand, bows to the family god, which is an unhusked cocoanut, and to the sweet basil plant, and breaks a cocoanut before each of them. When this ceremony is over, all present go in procession with the bridegroom to the house of the bride. On reaching the bride's, her parents lead the bridegroom into the marriage booth where he crawls under the low arched branch of a fig tree, and, while women sing Kānarese songs, he is bathed with water from two large earthen pots placed on either side of the arch. When the bathing is over, the bridegroom is seated on a low wooden stool. Cooked rice, fish curry, vegetables and sweet gruel are served. In the evening a large quantity of toddy is set before the guests, and both men and women drink freely and dance, moving in a circle to the sound of pipe and drum. When the liquor is finished and the dancers are worn out, the headman ties the ends of the bride's and bridegroom's garments, joins their hands, and pours water over them. After this the bride and bridegroom retire for the night. Next day the pair go to the bridegroom's house, where they are feasted with palm-juice and sweet gruel, rice and fish curry. On the fourth day the bridal party return to the bride's house, where a feast is given. This ends the ceremony. The headman or *budhvant* is given two pounds of rice and half a cocoanut.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. The pair to be married must first obtain the permission of the caste people by paying a sum of Rs. 10. The ceremony consists in the presentation to the widow by her new husband of a robe which she puts on. A feast is then given to the caste people.

A husband may divorce his wife on account of her misconduct. A divorced woman cannot marry again during the life-time of her husband.

#### Religion.

The members of the caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance. They belong to the Hindu religion. Their chief god is Virabhadra, whose shrine is at Hegde in Kumta, where, in January, the whole caste meets at the yearly festival of the god. They also worship Jatkás, Mhastis, Ammás and the other village gods. Next to Virabhadra they honour Venkataráma and Hanumant of Chandávar in Honávar. They call Hanumant *gurudevuru*, the divine teacher. Each Mukri family pays 1 to 1½ annas to Virabhadra and Hanumant regularly every year through their headman, and they keep wooden images of Virabhadra and Venkataráma in every pot or hollow pillar of sweet basil. The images are bathed and daubed with yellow clay or *gopi-chandan* every day before meals. After bathing the gods, the worshipper walks several times round the sweet basil plant, bowing to it as well as to the sun. After this they pluck a leaf of the plant, and dip it in a metal water-pot set at the feet of the image of Virabhadra, and let the water drop from the leaf into their mouths. Their leading holidays are *Makarsankranti*, *Shimga*, *Yágudi*, *Duváli*, *Bhandihabha*, local hook-swinging festivals and the *Teru* or ear festivals. They make pilgrimages to Chandávar in Honávar and to Tirupati near Madras. Those who go to Tirupati are called *dásas* or slaves of the god, and are treated with much respect. All lay by small sums of money as offerings to Venkataráma, and either take or send the amount. They have no religious teachers.

They do not employ Bráhmans for religious or ceremonial purposes. All their ceremonies are conducted by the *budvants* of the caste.

They bury the dead and mourn three days. On the third day after the death all adult male neighbours come to the house of mourning. The chief mourner cooks a small quantity of rice, without salt, strains it dry, dissolves a little tamarind in the water, bakes three rice cakes, and brings some palm-beer. Then, with the guests, he goes to the grave, taking with him some of the food, and lays it near the grave, as an offering, and stays there till the cakes are eaten by crows. When the men start for the grave, the women begin to cowdung the floor of the house and finish the work before the men return. On returning, the mourners and the guests bathe in cold water, take a little of the cakes and other eatables, and go to their houses. On the eleventh day all the caste people in the village are invited, those who are relations bringing with them different kinds of eatables. The people of the house cook dry rice, fish curry and sweet gruel, and lay in a stock of palm juice. Portions of everything cooked in the house, as well as of what has been brought by relations, are spread on a plantain leaf and given to a cow. After this all the guests and house people dine together and drink palm-beer. On every new-moon day a cow is fed with rice, curry and sweet gruel to please the dead.

#### Occupation.

The Mukris are hard-working and well-behaved, but thriftless. They are field-labourers and makers of shell lime. Most of them are

employed by Havig Bráhmans in their spice gardens, and are bound to labour for a term of years, for life, or for several generations in return for money advanced to meet marriage expenses; some also work as labourers and take contracts to dig wells and reclaim or level lands. When money is borrowed from the landlord, a man generally binds himself by a written agreement to pay interest at ten or fifteen per cent. If he is unable to pay, he generally works a certain number of years for the landlord in return for the money and interest. They earn only enough for their bare maintenance, many depending on the higher classes of Hindus, especially on Havig Bráhmans, for funds to meet the expenses of their marriage ceremonies, in return for which they have to serve their creditors for long periods. In such cases they are required to work during the rainy season, when tilling operations are carried on, and receive from their employers rice for their maintenance and a suit of clothes. During the fair months they are free to work on their own account.

They eat the flesh of tortoises, fish and all kinds of four-footed animals except cows, buffaloes, tigers, lizards, monkeys, jackals, snakes, etc. They are very fond of drinking toddy and liquor.









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**CASTE — PADTI.**

*LOCALITY — KANARA.*

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## Pāṭis.

PADTIS (ಪಡತಿ), numbering 3,510 including 1,804 males and 1,706 females, are found in the *tālukas* of Kārwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honavar, Sirsi, and Yellapur in the Kánara district and in Goa territory. They have two endogamous divisions, Kánerese and Konkani, who neither eat together nor intermarry, although they do not differ in religious and social customs. There are nine exogamous sections as follows:—

15,259

### Kánarese Pāṭis.

| Name.                        | Family god.                                 |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Kotárkar<br>ಕೊಟಾರಕಾರ.     | ... Rámnáth.<br>ರಾಮನಾಥ.<br>Betál.<br>ಬೇತಾಳ. |
| 2. Tálekar<br>ತಾಳೇಕಾರ.       | ... Mallikárjun.<br>ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ.           |
| 3. Nagékar<br>ನಗೇಕಾರ.        | ... Bhumidevata.<br>ಭೂಮಿದೇವತಾ.              |
| 4. Gaínkar<br>ಗೈಂಕಾರ.        | ... Betál.<br>ಬೇತಾಳ.                        |
| 5. Chinchonkar<br>ಚಿಂಚೂಣಕಾರ. | ... Rámnáth.<br>ರಾಮನಾಥ.                     |
| 6. Gáondli<br>ಗಾವಂಡಿ.        | ... Bhumidevata.<br>ಭೂಮಿದೇವತಾ.              |

### Konkani Pāṭis.

|                            |                                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 7. Nágekar<br>ನಾಗೇಕಾರ.     | ... Bhumidevata.<br>ಭೂಮಿದೇವತಾ.    |
| 8. Májálkar<br>ಮಾಜಾಳಕಾರ.   | ... Betál.<br>ಬೇತಾಳ.              |
| 9. Káñkonkar<br>ಕಾಣಕೋಣಕಾರ. | ... Mallikárjun.<br>ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ. |

Marriages cannot take place in the same section. Marriages among brother's and sister's children are prohibited, but a brother's son or daughter can marry a sister's daughter or son. A member of the caste is allowed to marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two

sisters. The caste appears to have come into Kánara from Goa about six or seven generations ago ; but owing to its having taken to manufacturing salt, a profession followed by a very low caste in Kánara, the parent stock stopped all intercourse, and has since been a separate community. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Girls are generally married between nine and thirteen, and boys between fourteen and eighteen. Polygamy is allowed, but rarely practised unless the first wife is barren. Polyandry is unknown.

The offer of marriage is made by the boy's father. The settlement of the marriage day and the ceremony itself are entrusted to the village *joshi*. When a match is approved of by the parents of the bride and bridegroom, the betrothal takes place, in which the girl's hair is decked with flowers presented by the boy's parents. On the morning of the marriage day the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric and oil. The boy then goes in procession to the girl's house, where a cloth is held between him and the bride, and they garland one another. Next, their hands are joined and water is poured on them. This is known as *dhāro*, and is the essential and binding portion of the ceremony. On the following evening a ceremony called *gavan* is performed at the bride's house, in which the bride and bridegroom are seated on a cot, grains of rice are thrown on their heads, and cash presents from annas two to a rupee are made to them by relations and friends ; and they are made to play a game with a copper ring and a betelnut in a pan filled with water. The caste is then feasted. On the third day the pair go to the bridegroom's house, the ceremony of *gavan* is again gone through, castemen are feasted, and the marriage garlands are removed from the heads of the bride and bridegroom. On the day following the pair go again to the girl's house and return to the boy's house after five days, when the marriage ceremonies end. The remarriage of widows is allowed. A widow can marry any man except her maternal uncle's son or a member of her late husband's family. The sanction of the *budhvant* of the caste must be obtained before celebrating a widow-marriage, which may only take place on days not suitable for first marriages. A few old men and remarried widows are present on the occasion. On the day appointed, at night-fall, the widow goes to her new husband's house, bathes, and stands with her hair unbound. The glass bangles on her wrist are broken by one of the old men present, and the ornaments and clothes given to her by her first husband are sent to his relations, together with Rs. 4 to Rs. 6 paid by her second husband. Next, the widow puts on new clothes, ornaments, and bangles presented by her second husband ; the pair are seated on the threshold of the house, and vermilion and grains of cooked rice (dried) are applied to the widow's forehead by one of the widows present. This ends the ceremony. A remarried widow is not allowed to take part in any auspicious ceremony, not even in the celebration of her daughter's marriage. But if she has a son, she is considered purified on her giving a feast to the caste-people, and is thus raised again to the rank of unwidowed women. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is not allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

They are Hindus and worship ordinary Bráhmaṇ and village gods. Religion. Their family deities are Rámnáth, Vetál, Mallikárjuna, and Bhumi-devatā. Some of them also worship *puruṣhas*, that is, dead ancestors, to whom small temples are dedicated. They have great faith in sooth-saying and sorcery and in the powers of spirits. They observe all the local holidays including *bhānds* and *jātras*. They make pilgrimages to Gokarn, Pandharpur, and Tirupati. When cholera or small-pox breaks out, offerings of cocks and goats, and sometimes even of buffaloes, are made to the Mariamma goddess of Sirsi. The priests of the local village temples are also consulted, and offerings of cocoanuts, flowers, vermilion, eye salve, robes, bodice cloths and plantains are made to the deities, and patients are made to drink *thirthprasād*, i. e., water in which their idols have been bathed. On certain occasions vows are made to Musalmán Pirs, and if they are fulfilled, camphor, frankincense, and raw sugar are offered to them. On the Dasara day they worship their implements of husbandry and offer fowls to them. Fowls, sheep, and goats are also offered to the village deities at the hookswinging festival. The priests of the castes are *joshis*, a class of Dravid Bráhmans, who are not received on terms of equality by the other Bráhmans. They either burn or bury the dead. At burial the corpse is laid with the head turned to the north. For the propitiation of dead ancestors they perform the *mahálaga* every year on the ninth day of the bright half of *A'shrin*.

They believe their original occupation to have been the cultivation of salt-marsh lands. Most of them are permanent or half-share tenants or tenants-at-will; a few make salt; the rest are day labourers and are paid at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 annas a day.

They occasionally hunt hares, deer, and wild boars, and catch fish for their own use. They eat fowls, mutton, venison, fish and wild boars; and drink toddy and liquor.

They eat *kacchi* and *pakki* from the hands of Bráhmans, Vánis, Konkan Maráthás, and Gamvákals; and *pakki* only from Bhandáris and Komárpaiks. They take neither *kacchi* nor *pakki* from Sonárs.









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## Hálvakki Vakkal.

(ಹಾಲವಕ್ಕಿ ವಕ್ಕಲ.)

—:0:—

THE Hálvakki Vakkal caste, numbering between 20,000 and 30,000, also known as Gavdas, is found only in the Kánara District. In 1881 the number was returned as 26,395; but at the subsequent census enumerations no reliable figures were obtained owing to the caste being confused with other cultivating castes, such as the Kunbis, the word *Kunbi* being the Maráthi equivalent of the Kanarese *Vakkal*. Vakkal or Vakkalig in Kanarese signifies cultivator, and the term Vakkal is not therefore a caste name, but a profession. In the Bombay Presidency and Mysore the Vakkals are the Kanarese cultivating castes. The Mysore Gazetteer (Vol. I, p. 229) includes Reddis, Nonábas, and even Halépaiks under the name of Vakkalig. For a list of the castes commonly classed as Vakkal in Bombay, see VAKKAL.

In Kánara the caste is chiefly found in the talukas of Kárwár, Ankola, Kumta, and Honávar, where they have numerous centres. The name of the caste is commonly said to be derived from the Kanarese *hálu* (milk-white) and *akki* (rice), probably because the Hálvakki Vakkals are the chief growers of the better kind of rice (*hálakki* in Kanarese means table rice). The caste is also found in Mysore. They seem to be among the earliest settlers on the coast. They have now lost all tradition of connection with Mysore, but a trace perhaps remains in their worship of Venkatráma of Tirupati in North Arcot.

The caste seems once to have been the great landlord caste of Kánara, and subsequently to have given place to Haviks, Gaud Sárasvats, and Lingáyats. It is still a common tradition that their women intermarried with the early Havik settlers, and evidence is forthcoming to render this tradition not improbable.

The names in common use among men are Bira, Nága, Goli, Timma, Kuppa, Goinda; and among women, Tulsi, Karijádevi, Shivi, Gangi, Nági, Timmi, and Putti. The men add *gavda*, literally a headman, to their names, some interposing the honorific *appa* or *anna*, as Birappagauda or Venkannagauda. Female names are generally formed by substituting "i" for "a," "u," or "o" at the end of the names of the males.



There are no endogamous divisions of the caste, which is divided into *balis* or exogamous sections, of which the following are the most important:—

- |                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Baler bali<br>ಬಲೇರ ಬಳಿ        | ... Balai=a fruit tree ( <i>Dyorspyros melanoxylon</i> ).           |
| 2. Balina bali<br>ಬಲಿನ ಬಳಿ       | ... Bali=a sea fish ( <i>Trichnirus lap-turus</i> ).                |
| 3. Bargal bali<br>ಬರ್ಗಲ ಬಳಿ      | ... Barga=hog deer.   |
| 4. Bhairan bali<br>ಭೈರನ ಬಳಿ      | ... Bhairana=a bird.  |
| 5. Devi bali<br>ದೇವಿ ಬಳಿ         | ... Devi=goddess.   |
| 6. Dyāvana bali<br>ದ್ಯಾವನ ಬಳಿ    | ... Dyava=the tortoise.   |
| 7. Gurvina bali<br>ಗುರ್ವಿನ ಬಳಿ   | ... Gurani=a kind of prickly plant with flowers.                    |
| 8. Holé bali<br>ಹೊಲೆ ಬಳಿ         | ...   |
| 9. Kadsan bali<br>ಕಡಸನ ಬಳಿ       | ... Kadachi=a shrub.  |
| 10. Kadvin bali<br>ಕಡ್ವಿನ ಬಳಿ    | ... Kadave=the elk.   |
| 11. Kodkal bali<br>ಕೊಡ್ಕಲ ಬಳಿ    | ... Kodkal=a monkey.  |
| 12. Kunte bali<br>ಕುಂತೆ ಬಳಿ      | ... (Unknown.)  |
| 13. Kelagi bali<br>ಕೇಲಗಿ ಬಳಿ     | ... Kedagi = fragrant screw-pine ( <i>Pandanus odoratissimus</i> ). |
| 14. Machheli bali<br>ಮಚ್ಚೆಲಿ ಬಳಿ | ... Machchu or Macheli = an axe used for cutting trees.             |
| 15. Majkal bali<br>ಮಜ್ಕಲ ಬಳಿ     | ... (Unknown.)  |
| 16. Manāl bali<br>ಮನಾಲ ಬಳಿ       | ... Manāl=a tree.   |
| 17. Manjai bali<br>ಮಂಜಾಳ ಬಳಿ     | ... Manjāla=saffron.  |

18. Muskin bali ... Muskin = a river fish.  
ಮುಕ್ಕಿನ ಬಳಿ
19. Nāg bali ... Nāg champa (*Mesua speciosa*).  
ನಾಗ ಬಳಿ.
20. Shirin bali ... Sher or Sherkul = (*Acacia speciosa*).  
ಶರೀನ ಬಳಿ

The enquiries conducted into the significance of these *balis* seem to show that they are true totemistic divisions though tending to lose their original character as the sections of the caste advance in the social scale. Thus the *kedagi* is the screw-pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) commonly found in the streamlets and rivers of Kānara. The members of the *Kedagi bali* will neither cut the tree nor pluck its flowers. Those of the *Bargal bali* will not kill or eat the *barga* or mouse-deer. The followers of the *Shirin bali*, named after the *shirkal* tree (*Acacia speciosa*) will not sit in the shade of the tree, and refrain from injuring it in any way. Descent in reference to *balis* is traced through males, the caste in this point differing from the majority, who either trace their *bali* through females or through both sexes, the latter presumably being the intermediate stage between the older fashion and the modern system.

Persons of the same *bali* cannot intermarry. Consanguinous relationship by the father's side stands, as among Brāhmans, in the way of marriage, *e. g.*, a boy cannot marry either a maternal or a paternal cousin. There are no other prohibitions on intermarriage. A man may marry his deceased wife's sister.

Hālvakki Vakkals live in isolated villages peopled by families of their caste, with a strong and elaborate social organization to preserve purity of morals, simplicity of manners, and strict adherence to the customs handed down from their forefathers. Their settlements lie between the western slopes of the Sahyādris and the sea. They stretch from the Kālinadi near Kārwar on the north to the Shirāvati near Honāvar on the south. This tract is divided into five social groups or circles known as *shimés*: Hebbākeri or Honāvar, Chandāvar or Kumta, Gokarn or Katgāl, Ankola, and Nādgeri or Kārwar. Each of these village groups has a *shimé-gauda* or group-headman, and each village or hamlet in the group has its village-headman or *ur-gauda*. The five group-heads or *shimé-gaudas* are under a chief or *arás-gauda* who has a minister or *pradhān-gauda*. The civil head or *arás-gauda* has as colleague a religious head or *guru-gauda*, who holds the rank of a *swāmi* and helps the civil head to enforce discipline. The religious head is a layman of the caste who marries in the caste and eats with the members. His office is hereditary and his duty is to fix the expiation of any offence proved against a member of the caste. He does not join in the ordinary meetings of the caste, but when an offence is proved before the civil head, the civil head fixes the fine and refers the matter to the religious head who names the expiation suitable to the offence. The religious head is treated with much

respect by the people, even by the civil head. The head-quarters of the civil head are at Hegde, four miles east of Kumta, those of the minister at Válgalli three miles, and those of the religious head at Talgod five miles from Kumta. The offices of all the headmen, including the civil head, the minister, and the religious head, even that of the *kolkár* or beadle, are hereditary. The functions of the village heads are to call meetings to enquire into ordinary breaches of social rules; to dispose of minor offences against time-honoured customs by fines up to Rs. 16; and to report to the group-head or *shimé-ganda* serious matters in which a heavier punishment is deemed necessary. The group-head or *shimé-ganda* hears complaints against the decisions of the heads of the villages in his group and has power to put out of caste or to levy an unlimited fine. The village head is treated with much respect by the villagers who offer him betel leaves and nut and give him the highest place at any village meeting. The village groups in turn show a like respect to the group-head and the group-head to the civil head. Each village-head has a beadle or *kolkár* who carries messages from the village-heads to the people and to the group-heads. At certain intervals the civil head and the religious head, with the help of the minister or *pradhán*, call a general caste council to settle social disputes, punish the refractory, or re-admit the penitent. A penitent is allowed back to caste on paying a fine varying from Rs. 16 to Rs. 100. The general caste meetings and councils are held at uncertain intervals, generally once in three or ten years, at any convenient place fixed by the civil and the religious heads. The council lasts seven to twenty days and sometimes a month, during which the members are fed and other expenses met by contributions of food or of cash. The ordinary charges vary from Rs. 100 to 300, besides the materials and labour supplied by the people in making the council hall. The right of being members of caste committees, *jati-budvantike*, and of receiving certain complimentary offerings, called *mánumaryáde*, are jealously guarded by some of the richer families. The peculiar and apparently very ancient organization of this caste shows no sign of decay.

Girls are married from the age of eight to sixteen, there being no rule that they should be married before the age of puberty. Boys are married between twelve and eighteen. Sexual license before marriage with a member of the caste is tolerated, though nominally condemned. Polygamy is permitted, but polyandry is unknown.

#### Marriage.

The offer of betrothal generally comes from the boy's family. When a match is proposed the eldest male member of the boy's family asks a Havig priest whether the marriage will be prosperous, and with some of the people of the family, goes to the girl's house, where he is treated to rice, curry, and *paisa*, that is, rice, molasses, and coconut milk cooked together. After the meal the elder walks up to the mother or any other near kinswoman of the girl, drops into her hand a couple of betel leaves and nuts with a two or four anna silver coin, and asks the girl's name. The woman tells the girl's name, and all the people present chew betel leaves and nuts, when the boy's party return home. Before the marriage, at both the bride's and bridegroom's, a shed of bamboo and cocoa-palm leaves is raised for the guests. The

shed is plain and has no marriage altar as in the guest-sheds made by high class Hindus. To the post of the shed, which is first fixed in the ground, they tie mango sprays and call the post *muhurtmed* or auspicious post. No other ceremony is observed in connection with this post. They do not bring new pots from the potter, nor do they in any way require the potter's help in their marriage service. A day or two before the wedding the boy's father again goes to a Havig priest, asks him to name a lucky hour for holding the wedding, and pays him four annas for his services, together with two pounds of rice, a cocoanut, and betelnuts and leaves. On the evening before the wedding day all caste people are invited. Next day they come, each with a cocoanut or a pound of rice, which they present to the boy's mother, and sit on mats spread in the marriage hall. Early on the wedding morning his mother rubs the bridegroom with turmeric paste and bathes him with water out of the ordinary bathing pot. They then lead him to the wedding hall and seating him by an arch of *atti* (*Ficus glomerata*) branches, sing Kanarese songs, and bathe him with water from two new earthen pots called *kumbhas*, using five smaller pots called *gadiges*. At the same time the bride is bathed by five women at her house. When the bathing is over, the bridegroom is dressed in a waist-cloth, a long white coat falling to his ankle, and a head-scarf. The bridegroom and bride and their parents fast during the whole day. A metal pot called *talige*, filled with water, and with mango leaves and a cocoanut in its mouth, is set on a metal tray with a small quantity of rice. The bridegroom, wearing the marriage coronet, walks to the sweet basil plant, and bowing before it and the image of the patron god which is under it, sets a cocoanut before them. A dinner is served to all except the bridegroom and his parents, and a dinner is also given in the bride's house. The bridegroom then enters the house and bows to the ground before the cocoanut god and offers a cocoanut to it, and holding a few betelnuts and leaves and a cocoanut in his hands, leaves his house for the bride's, generally between nine and eleven at night. He is accompanied by his house people and guests and by a Bhoi fisherman who leads the procession carrying a lighted torch. Close behind the bridegroom walks his best-man, who is his brother-in-law, cousin, or other near relative. The best-man is called *chanchi-kusa* or box-carrier because he bears on his head a rattan box called *chanchi* containing betelnuts and leaves, tobacco, three robes, a wooden comb, and a small metal vial with eye-salve and another with vermilion paste. The box also contains flowers, the lucky necklace, and some gold and silver ornaments worth Rs. 10 to Rs. 20. The bridegroom's sister walks by his side with a tray containing the water-pot or *talige*. When the procession has started the women sing Kanarese songs, two of them leading the chorus with shouts of *suve*, from *shubb* happy or prosperous. When the bridegroom draws near the bride's house, her father comes out with a small metal pot called *chambu* full of water, washes the bridegroom's feet, and leads him to the sweet basil plant, near which is an arch of *atti* (*Ficus glomerata*). In front of the basil plant the washerman spreads a clean white cloth for the bridegroom to walk on, and receives eight annas, one or two pounds of rice, and a cocoanut. When in front of the

basil plant the bridegroom bows to it, while the women of the bride's house wave lighted lamps before his face. He then enters the house and presents the bride with one of the three robes worth about Rs. 4 which were brought in the cane box, and in this she dresses herself as soon as the bridegroom has gone back to the marriage hall. On his return to the marriage hall, the bridegroom is seated on one of two low wooden stools, which are placed close to the sides of the arch, and soon after the bride is brought by her parents and seated on the empty seat beside the bridegroom. Married women then rub one of the bride's and bridegroom's arms with turmeric paste and wash it off with water taken from the water-pots or *kumbhas*. Then the bridegroom presents the girl's mother with a robe worth Rs. 2, one of the three robes brought in the best-man's box. The couple then rise, pass through the arch, walk three times round it, and move to a wooden seat or *mancha*, in front of which they stand face to face separated by a curtain held by two young men, relations of the bride. The parents of the bride then join the right hands of the bride and bridegroom, and pour milk on them from a small metal pot. This is known as the *dhāre* ceremony and is the binding portion of the marriage service. When the milk pot is emptied, the curtain is drawn to one side and the pair sit together on the bench, while the guests throw rice on their brows, wishing them good luck, and the women wave lighted lamps before their faces, sprinkling grains of rice on their brows and singing Kanarese songs. When this is over the bridegroom gives the bride a second robe, worth Rs. 2, the last of the three brought in the best-man's box, and the maternal uncle of the bride makes them rise from the seat, and tying the ends of their garments, leads them into the house, where they bow to the cocoanut-god, break a cocoanut before it, and sit on a mat spread in the ante-chamber, and are given refreshments in separate dishes. The bridegroom, for fear of being considered a glutton, eats nothing, and when pressed, feigns want of appetite; but he eats to his heart's content when all the guests have gone. On ordinary days the wife eats in her husband's dish without washing it, after he has eaten; but during the marriage ceremonies she eats from a separate dish in company with other women. Next evening the married couple with their guests return to the bridegroom's house, bow before the basil plant and Venkatrāma, and break the cocoanut which was offered to them, and then bow to the ancestral cocoanut and break the cocoanut that was offered to it. The marriage coronet is then taken from the bridegroom's head and next day is fastened to the chief post of the house. The ceremony ends with a dinner. At none of their marriage ceremonies or processions is there any instrumental music; the only music is the women's songs. A marriage costs the girl's father about Rs. 60 and the boy's father about Rs. 100. The boy's father has to pay to the girl's father *tera*, or bride-price, varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 64. In order to save this payment, double marriages are sometimes arranged; but if this is not feasible, the bridegroom is sometimes adopted by the parents of the bride as a domestic son-in-law (*mane-alaya*), in which case the bridegroom has not to pay the bride-price, but there is a mutual agreement that the son-in-law should

stay and work at the bride's house receiving some of the profits of her parents.

The marriage of widows is allowed and practised. The widow's new husband should, if possible, be a widower, and in any case he must be a married man. A widow having children is allowed to marry only her deceased husband's elder brother. No special ceremonies attend a widow's marriage, except that her new husband gives her a fresh robe and that she leaves her parents' house by the back door.

A husband is allowed to divorce a wife. A divorced wife cannot remarry during the lifetime of her husband.

Like most other Kánara castes, the Hálvakki Vakkals have come under the influence of the Vaishnavism of Rámánuja. Their family god is an unhusked cocoanut, which is kept in a shed near the sweet basil plant and worshipped daily, and their patron deity is Venkatráma of Tirupati and his attendant Hanumán. One of their favourite places of worship is a temple of Hanumán at Chandávar in Kumta. The ministrant is a Havig Bráhmaṇ, but the Hálvakkis have the right to receive the *prasád* or flowers used in adorning the god.

They also worship the village gods and goddesses by sacrificing goats and fowls before their idols, and the unhusked cocoanut, which represents the head of their family. Whenever they can afford the Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 which the journey costs, they go on foot to Tirupati. On their return, during the rest of their life, they keep Saturday as a fast and abstain from animal food till they propitiate the god and feast the community. On the first fair day after the feast the pilgrims, with a band of their caste fellows, hunt in the woods, and feed on any deer or hog they may kill. Every year, a few days after *Yágadī* or New Year's Day, that is, near the end of April, they celebrate the day of Venkataráma, calling it *Haridina* or *Harisheve*, that is, Hari's Day or Hari's Propitiation. Eight days before the *Haridina*, metal vessels are cleaned and earthen cooking vessels are broken and new ones brought from the potter. The houses and yards and the sweet basil altar are smeared with cow-dung. On Hari's Day the basil plant is ornamented with sugarcane and festoons of flowers and mango twigs, and the image of Venkataráma is worshipped by one of the caste people, who, by several pilgrimages to Tirupati, has earned the title of *Dás* or servant of the god. The worship begins about one in the afternoon and lasts for three hours. The priest or *dás* repeats Kanarese hymns in honour of Hari, and offers fruits, flowers, and betel leaves and nuts, burning frankincense and waving a lighted lamp. The guests, at the end of every hymn, shout *Govind!* The men, women, and children who have been asked to the feast have to fast from sunrise till four in the afternoon, when a dinner is given of rice, vegetables, fried rice, pulse, cakes called *vadás*, and *paisu*. The basil worship is repeated on the next day and a small

dinner is given to relations and friends, the cost of the whole varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100 according to the means of the family. This entertainment marks the beginning of the agricultural year. The four months before it (December—March) are a time of comparative leisure during which the Hálvakkī Vakkals attend car festivals and other yearly fairs. They also, at a cost of Rs. 10 to Rs. 40, hold a social feast called *hagna*, from *hagan* fight, which lasts six days, during which, every morning and evening, the house gods are worshipped and neighbours and kinsmen are feasted. In the evening the women sing songs while the men play on globe-shaped earthen drums or *ghumtās* with one end open and the other covered with a lizard skin. This drum forms an excellent accompaniment to the women's voice. To the singing and playing they sometimes add a masquerade dance, differing little from the round *Shimga* or *Holi* dance. In this, men alone take part dressed like Europeans, Bráhmans, soldiers, constables, and messengers.

In the houses of those whose ancestors have visited Tirupati is kept an image of Venkatráma, a miniature human figure about six inches high carved in red sandalwood and covered with gold leaf. The image is set in the *vrindāvan* or basil altar. Part of their earnings is set aside as an offering to Venkatráma. It is laid beneath the sweet basil plant at the time of worship and is then removed and dropped into a hollow bamboo through a small slit at the upper end of one of its joints. The head of the family every now and again adds a coin to the store. When the bamboo is full the contents are taken out and sent to Tirupati to be presented to the god. This practice of setting apart savings for the god is called *chakra kattuvadu*, that is, the tying of four-anna pieces. The savings are considered sacred, and even in times of necessity are carefully kept for the god.

Their other holidays are full and new moons, the eclipses, the *Sankránt* in January, *Holi* in March-April, *Yugádi* in April, *Diváli* in October-November, *Aliyan Amvāse* or son-in-law's new moon in October-November, and the hook-swinging or *bhānd* festival.

They believe in soothsaying, witchcraft, and the power of spirits, exorcising them when there is sickness by the help of Ghádi and Komárpaik soothsayers. They observe birth, naming, marriage, and death ceremonies. They also believe in ceremonial impurity, holding a family to be impure for three days after a birth or after a death, and women for four days once a month.

They respect and consult Bráhmans, but do not employ them to perform any ceremonies.

Funeral cere-  
monies.

The bodies of the married dead are burnt, those of the unmarried are buried. When sickness takes a fatal turn the nearest relation of the dying man feeds him with gruel from a shell spoon, resting his head on his lap. When signs of death appear, the *Dās* or some elderly member of the family calls out the name of Hari and Govinda. When the man is dead the body is brought out, washed, covered with a new shroud, and laid on a bier. As they draw near the burning-ground,

the bearers set down the bier, pick a small stone and lay it by the side of the corpse. They address it as the spirit of the dead and promise it a resting place and food till the spirit has been formally called back to join its ancestors in the family cocoanut. The bier is then lifted and taken to the burning-ground, where the body is burnt without further ceremony. Before the party return home, the chief mourner offers cooked rice and a young cocoanut to the life-stone and repeats the offerings on the second and third days. On the third day the chief mourner goes to the burial-ground, and gathering the ashes in a conical mound, offers the dead a fresh cocoanut and rice cooked without salt. On their return, the faces and the heads, except the top-knot, of the male mourners, are shaved, the house is cleaned by a fresh coating of cowdung, and the washerman sprinkles water over the people and over the house. After the house has been cleaned and the people purified by the washerman, the chief mourner goes to the family cocoanut, worships it, and asks the spirit of the latest deceased to join its ancestors in the cocoanut. In the evening dinner is given to a few of the castemen. On the twelfth day a feast is given to the whole community, when a person of the age and sex of the deceased is fed and presented with betelnuts and leaves, tobacco, and a new robe of small value. Every year a feast is held in honour of the deceased ancestors when caste people are feasted and offerings are made to the ancestors.

The Hálvakki Vakkals are now chiefly husbandmen, but they hire themselves as labourers when their services are not required at home. Their daily wages are four annas for a man and two annas for a woman. The women and children never work, except in the fields, being paid in grain worth  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 annas. They have the monopoly of making roofs of bamboos and coir rope and also of building the tops of the great temple-cars or *rathas*. Some of them are good physicians, using roots and barks to cure fever, carbuncles, inflammation of the lungs, and liver diseases. They are paid only their boarding, with in some cases the present of a blanket worth Re. 1 to Rs. 3. Besides house work the women help the men in the fields and also plait mats of grass or sedge called *lava*, worth 3 annas to Re. 1 according to size and quality. They are successful cultivators, but their custom of spending as much as Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 on their marriages often forces them to borrow money at twelve to twenty-four per cent. In many cases the principal remains unpaid for generations, the interest being regularly paid and the bonds on which the money is lent being renewed by the borrower or his heirs. A Hálvakki Vakkal seldom begs, the old and infirm being supported by their neighbours in return for such light work as they can do.

Their staple food is rice and *rúgi*. They are very fond of molasses Food. and *paisa*. They eat tame animals like fowls and goats sacrificed to the village deities, as also wild animals killed in hunting, such as hogs, rabbits, and deer, provided they are not sacred to the *bali* to which the eater belongs. They do not eat fish, crocodiles, snakes, lizards, jackals, and insects. They never touch liquor, and carry their dislike of it so far that they never stand under a cocoanut tree while it is being tapped.









**Draft.**

*The*  
*Ethnographical Survey of Bombay.*

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**MONOGRAPH No. 15.**

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**CASTE—CHITRAKATHI.**

*LOCALITY—NASIK, POONA, SATARA,  
AND THANA.*

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## Chitrakathi.

CHITRAKATHI (चित्रकथी,) or Picture Showmen, numbering 757 (1901) including 388 males and 369 females, are residents of the Násik District, a few families being found in the adjacent districts of Thána, Poona, and Sátára. They take their name from *chitra* a picture, and *katha* a story, and exhibit pictures of heroes and gods, entertaining their audience by reciting stories from the *Puráns*. They are wandering beggars who claim to be Maráthás by origin. When settled they live in wattled huts thatched with grass; and when travelling, in small tents or *páls*. A tradition still exists in the caste that they came from Singnápúr and Nátepute in the Sholápur District during the reign of Sháhu Rájá.

There are no endogamous divisions of the caste, and no exogamous subdivisions are found above families bearing the same surname. The commonest surnames are Jádhav, More, Povár, Sálunkhe, Shinde, Thombare, Ingale, Ámbale, Bhosale, and Supalkar, which seem to suggest a probable Maráthá origin for the caste.

Marriages are prohibited between members having the same surname. Sameness of *devak* is a bar to intermarriage. Examples of the *devaks* worshipped by different families are given below. A member of the caste cannot marry his father's sister's or mother's sister's daughter. He may marry his maternal uncle's daughter. A man may marry two sisters, and brothers may marry sisters. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown.

Girls are married between three and twenty, boys between three and thirty. If a girl commits sexual indiscretions with a caste-man, each of them is fined Rs. 5 or made to give a dinner to the caste-people. If the offence is committed with a man of another caste, the girl is excommunicated.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father who has to pay a *dej* or bride-price of from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150 to the girl's father. The day for the marriage is fixed by the village priest, who conducts the service. The marriage ceremonies of Chitrakathis resemble those of Maráthá Kunbis. The *devak* or marriage guardian is installed at the boy's house on the day before the marriage, and at the girl's house on the marriage day, when a goat is killed and the caste-men are feasted. Every section has a separate *devak*. The *devaks* of some of the principal family stocks are as follows :—

| Name of <i>kal</i> . | Name of <i>devak</i> .                                  |
|----------------------|---|
| 1. Thombare          | ... The <i>saundad</i> ( <i>Prosopis spicigera</i> ).   |
| 2. Ingale            | ... The <i>kohála</i> (pumpkin).                        |
| 3. Jádhav            | ... An ear of <i>pála</i> ( <i>Ehretia bunifolia</i> ). |
| 4. More              | ... A peacock's feather.                                |



| Name of <i>kal</i> . | Name of <i>devak</i> .                                       |
|----------------------|--|
| 5. Sálunkhe          | ... A feather of the <i>sálunki</i> .                        |
| 6. Povár             | ... A knife.   |
| 7. Ambale            | ... An <i>ám̐ba</i> or mango.                                |
| 8. Supalkar          | ... The <i>páñch-pálvi</i> or leaves of five kinds of trees. |

The remarriage of widows is permitted. It can be celebrated on any dark night except the new-moon day during any month except *Bhádrapad*. The widow and her new husband are seated on a blanket, red powder is applied to their foreheads by a re-married widow, and they are made to utter one another's name, which completes the ceremony. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow.

A husband can divorce a wife on the ground of her misconduct or incompatibility of temper. In the former case the wife is turned out of the caste. In the latter, she may marry after the fashion of the widow remarriage ceremony.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance and belong to the Hindu religion. They worship all the Bráhmaṇic and village gods, their family deities being Bhavani of Tuljápúr, Khandoba of Jejuri and Páli, Jotiba of Ratnágiri, and Lakshmi of Kolhápúr. They observe all the Hindu holidays and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, Tuljápúr, and Kondanpur. Goats and fowls are offered to the village gods which are eaten by the offerers themselves. *Táks*, or images of deceased ancestors, embossed on metal plates, are installed amongst the household gods. Their priests are the ordinary village Bráhmans.

The dead are buried in a sitting position. The corpse is bathed, dressed, and seated on a blanket, and carried to the burial ground with some cooked rice tied to one of its corners. On the thirteenth day after death the caste is feasted. For the propitiation of deceased ancestors the *mahít* is performed every year in the latter half of *Bhádrapad* when caste-men are feasted and uncooked articles of food are given to Brahmans.

The chief occupation of the caste is exhibiting pictures of gods and heroes and reciting their stories in song and verse. They also exhibit wooden dolls which are made to dance and fight in imitation of the contests between heroes and demons. These puppet shows are losing their popularity, and the exhibitions are usually confined to picture shows. A few of the caste work as day-labourers, and are paid either in cash or in corn.

They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fish, and poultry, and drink liquor.





**Draft.**

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**MONOGRAPH No. 16.**

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**CASTE—GAM VAKKAL.**

***LOCALITY—KANARA.***

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**MONOGRAPH No. 16.**

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**CASTE—GAM VAKKAL.**

*LOCALITY—KANARA.*

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Woman in the Costume of the Vakkal Castes of North Kanara





## Gám Vakkal.

GÁM VAKKALS (ಗಾಮ ವಕ್ಕಲ), also called Gámgaudas, numbering 12,401, including 5,963 males and 6,438 females, are chiefly found in low-land villages between the Gangávali and Shirávatí rivers in the Kánara district. They are one of the "Vakkal" or cultivating castes of Kánara, ranking next to the Hálvakki Vakkals in social order. Their name appears to be derived from *gám*, a corruption of the Sanskrit *grám*, a village. Their own tradition is that they were named after GÁma, one of their ancestors, who brought the Haviks from Hayakshátra and gave them Gám Vakkal women in marriage on condition that after marriage the women should not abandon their original fashion of dress. A similar claim to a former connection with the Haviks is advanced by the Hálvakki Vakkals, and is supported by the fact that Havik women dress in the same style as the Hálvakki and Gám Vakkals to the present day (1906). In so doing they set at defiance the recent orders of Havik priests to assimilate their costume to that of other Bráhmaṇ women.

The caste contains the following exogamous sub-divisions or *balis* :—

- |                   |     |     |  |
|-------------------|-----|-----|--|
| 1. Ajjane bali    | ... | ... | (Unknown.)   |
| ಅಜ್ಜನೆ ಬಳಿ.       |     |     |  |
| 2. Ane bali       | ... | ... | Ane = the elephant.                                |
| ಆನೆ ಬಳಿ.          |     |     |  |
| 3. Arashina bali  | ... | ... | Arsina = turmeric ( <i>Curcuma longa</i> ).        |
| ಅರಶಿನೆ ಬಳಿ.       |     |     |  |
| 4. Chendi bali    | ... | ... | Chendi = a tree ( <i>Cerbera odollam</i> ).        |
| ಚೆಂದಿ ಬಳಿ.        |     |     |  |
| 5. Devater bali   | ... | ... | (Unknown.)   |
| ದೇವತರ ಬಳಿ.        |     |     |  |
| 6. Hire bali      | ... | ... | (Unknown.)   |
| ಹೀರೆ ಬಳಿ.         |     |     |  |
| 7. Honne bali     | ... | ... | Honne = a tree ( <i>Calophyllum innophyllum</i> ). |
| ಹೊನ್ನೆ ಬಳಿ.       |     |     |  |
| 8. Kadan bali     | ... | ... | (Unknown.)   |
| ಕಡನ ಬಳಿ.          |     |     |  |
| 9. Kadvin bali    | ... | ... | Kadave = the elk.                                  |
| ಕಡ್ವಿನ ಬಳಿ.       |     |     |  |
| 10. Neralala bali | ... | ... | Neral = a tree ( <i>Eugenia jambolana</i> ).       |
| ನೇರಲೆ ಬಳಿ.        |     |     |  |
| 11. Shetti bali   | ... | ... | Shetti or Shetli = a fish.                         |
| ಶೆಟ್ಟೆ ಬಳಿ.       |     |     |  |

- |     |             |     |     |   |
|-----|-------------|-----|-----|---|
| 12. | Shige bali  | ... | ... | Shige = soapnut ( <i>acacia con-</i><br><i>cinna</i> ). |
|     | ಶಿಗಿ ಬಳಿ.   |     |     |   |
| 13. | Shire bali  | ... | ... | Shire=a tree ( <i>acacia speciosa</i> ).                |
|     | ಶಿರಿ ಬಳಿ.   |     |     |   |
| 14. | Shivin bali | ... | ... | Shivani = a tree ( <i>gmelina</i><br><i>arborea</i> ).  |
|     | ಶಿವಿನ ಬಳಿ.  |     |     |   |

These *balis* appear to be true totemistic divisions from the respect that is paid to the emblem after which each is named, and from their being exogamous. Thus, members of the Ane *bali* offer a cocoanut to an elephant. Members of the Kadvin *bali* will not kill the elk nor eat of its flesh. Members of the Nerala *bali* will neither eat the berries of the *nerala* nor use its wood for fuel. Similarly, in the case of the other *balis* named after trees, the tree is never cut or damaged by the members of the division. The *bali* is traced through male descent. The Gám Vakkals will not readily disclose the names of their *balis*, and it is probable that they are not satisfied with a totemistic system which is unknown in the Hindu castes of a higher social standing.

The Gám Vakkals speak a corrupt Kánarese, the peculiarities being the same as those of the Hálvakki Vakkals. The names in common use among men and women are those found among the Hálvakki Vakkals, the men suffixing *appa* or father, *náik* or chief, or *gaula* or headman to their names.

The rules regulating intermarriage do not differ from those of the Hálvakki Vakkals.

The habits of the caste are settled. They are divided into groups of villages, each group having a *budvant* or headman, and all the groups having a chief, headman or *yajamán*. Each *budvant* has an assistant called *kolkár* or *kudvelli* whose duty is to carry messages to the castemen. Small offences are enquired into by the local *budvants*, and cases of gross misdemeanour by the *yajamán* in meetings of the castemen which are known as *kuts*. Ordinary offences are punished with fines from eight annas to a rupee, and grave offences, such as adultery, with excommunication. The authority of the *kut* appears to be declining, as their decisions are often disregarded, and many of the castemen associate freely with the offenders. Outsiders are not admitted into this caste.

Girls are generally married up to the age of twelve years and boys up to twenty. Polygamy is allowed, some men having even four wives. Polyandry is unknown.

Their marriage ceremonies resemble those of the Hálvakki Vakkals, the essential portion consisting in joining the hands of the bride and bridegroom and pouring milk over them. This is known as the *dhare* ceremony. The *tera* or bride-price varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 100.

The re-marriage of widows is permitted, but of late generally discouraged. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow.







A Gum Vakkal of North Kanara.





Divorce is allowed with the sanction of the *yajamán* or the chief headman. A divorced woman cannot marry again during the lifetime of her husband.

The caste follows the Hindu law of inheritance and the Hindu religion. Their family god is Venkataráma of Tirupati and Balindra, the ancestral cocoanut. They pay respect also to Hanumán and the local minor deities such as Jatgás and Mhastis. Like the Hálvakki Vakkals, they celebrate the Haridina ceremony. They also perform a ceremony known as *panwár* in which castemen are invited, the image of Venkataráma is worshipped as in the Haridina ceremony, and the guests are feasted. The plough is worshipped after the harvest with offerings of flowers, plantains and cocoanuts.

They resemble the Hálvakki Vakkals in the disposal of the dead and the performance of funeral rites, except that they observe mourning for eleven days instead of three.

The original occupation of the caste is agriculture. Of late some have taken to felling and squaring timber and hollowing canoes. They cultivate paddy, sugarcane and cocoa palms. A few own lands, but the majority are *nagdi* and *chálgeni* tenants, that is, tenants-at-will. The *nagdi* tenants cultivate gardens and receive one-half, one-third or one-fourth of the produce for their labour. Some are field labourers and are paid at the rate of three or four annas a day.

The staple food of the caste is rice, *rúgi* and fish, and when they sacrifice or hunt they eat flesh, except beef and tame pork. Both men and women drink country distilled liquor called *chulli* but seldom to excess.







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**MONOGRAPH No. 18.**

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**CASTE—KARE VAKKAL.**

*LOCALITY—KANARA.*

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## Kare Vakkal.

Kare Vakkals (ಕರೆ ವಕ್ಕಲ), or Black Vakkals, are found in the forest tracts and remote villages of Ankola taluka and a few in the forest tracts of Sirsi, Kárwár, Kumta, Honávar, Siddapur, and Yellápur talukas of the Kánara district. They are styled *kare* or black, because they are darker than the other Vakkal castes.

They speak Kanarese like the Hálvakki Vakkals ; a few speak Konkani. The common names among men are, Kariya, Giriya, Shiva, Tipa, Venka, and Timma ; and among women Bâmi, Gangi, Gubbi, Gopi, Dodakka, Sannakka, and Subbi. The men add *gauda* or headman to their names.

The caste is divided into several *bali*s or exogamous sub-divisions of which the following is as complete a list as it has been found possible to secure :—

|                                |     |  |
|--------------------------------|-----|--|
| (1) Arashina bali<br>ಅರಶಿನ ಬಳಿ | ... | Arsina=turmeric.<br>( <i>Curcuma longa</i> .)      |
| (2) Chendi bali<br>ಚೆಂದಿ ಬಳಿ   | ... | Chendi=a tree<br>( <i>Cerbera odollam</i> .)       |
| (3) Honne bali<br>ಹೊನ್ನೆ ಬಳಿ   | ... | Honne=a tree.<br>( <i>Pterocarpus Marsupium</i> .) |
| (4) Shetti bali<br>ಶೆಟ್ಟಿ ಬಳಿ  | ... | (Unknown.)   |
| (5) Miga bali<br>ಮಿಗನ ಬಳಿ      | ... | Miga=a chital.<br>( <i>Axis maculata</i> .)        |
| (6) Shire bali<br>ಶಿರೆ ಬಳಿ     | ... | Shire=a tree.<br>( <i>Acacia speciosa</i> )        |
| (7) Vulkan bali<br>ವಡ್ಡನ ಬಳಿ   | ... | (Unknown.)   |

The trees and animals giving their names to these divisions are treated with respect, and are never cut or injured in any way by the members of the division called after them. The *bali* is traced through males. It will be seen that with two exceptions these *bali*s are also found among the Gam Vakkals.

The habits of the caste are settled. They have a social organization somewhat on the lines of the Hálvakki Vakkals though less elaborate, as the community is more dispersed and does not possess so much cohesion. They are distributed over twelve *shimé*s or territorial divisions.

Each village has a headman called *grámgauda* or *budvant*, and each *shimé* is under the control of a *shimégauda*. The village heads have only the power of fining up to a certain limit ; but the *shimé* headmen may impose unlimited fines, and outcaste or re-admit offenders as well as hear appeals against the decisions of the village headmen.

The ceremonies of Kare Vakkals do not differ materially from those of the Hálvakkí Vakkals. Widow re-marriage and polygamy are allowed and practised ; polyandry is unknown. Their chief objects of worship are Venkataráma of Tirupati, Jatga, Hulidev or the tiger-god, Karidev of Shiveguli in Ankola and the village mothers *ammas* or *shaktis*, to whom they offer blood sacrifices. They have a strong belief in ghosts, sooth-saying and witchcraft. They either burn or bury the dead.

They are husbandmen and field labourers and generally tenants, only a few holding land. Their form of tillage is the *kumri* or wood-ash tillage, and some of them still burn patches of forest land to rear crops of *rági* and vegetables.

The ordinary food of the Kare Vakkals is rice and *rági*, but they eat fowls and goats when sacrificed. They do not drink liquor.





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**CASTE—SUPPALIG OR DEVADIG.**

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## Suppalig.

Suppalig (ಸಪ್ಪಲಿಗ) or Devadig (ದೇವದಿಗ) numbering 796, including 386 males and 410 females, is a caste found in the Honávar, Sid-dapur, Kunta, Ankola, and Sirsi *tálukas* and in the Mundgod *petka* of the Kanara district. It is not found in any other district of the Presidency. Suppalig means 'noise-maker' from the Kanarese *suppal* noise, while Devadig is god's musician from *dev* god and *radig* music. Some of the Suppaligs bear the surname of Párial, a Telugu word for a temple servant, which suggests that the caste were once temple servants like the Devlis, Pátális, and Padiárs.

The Suppaligs are divided into two endogamous divisions known as *Makkalsantán* and *Aliyasantán*, so named after the law of succession followed by each. The former are found entirely in North Kanara, while the latter in small numbers in North Kanara and in greater numbers near Belnúr in Mysore. The two divisions neither eat together nor intermarry. The caste contains twelve exogamous sub-divisions or *bális* which are as follows :—

1. Shirin bali ... Shire = the root of the pepper plant.  
ಶಿರನಬಳಿ
2. Sályan bali ... Saler = a porcupine.  
ಸಾಳ್ಯಾನಬಳಿ
3. Tolan bali ... Tola = a wolf.  
ತೋಲನಬಳಿ
4. Hole bali ... Hole = a field.  
ಹೊಲಬಳಿ
5. Gangar bali ... Ganga = the river Gangávali.  
ಗಂಗಾರಬಳಿ
6. Ajjan bali ... Ajja = the fruit of the *ekke* tree.  
ಅಜ್ಜನಬಳಿ
7. Báler bali ... Balai = a fruit tree *Dyapgyros Melanocylon*.  
ಬಾಲರಬಳಿ
8. Ane bali ... Ane = the elephant.  
ಅನೆಬಳಿ
9. Shivin bali.  
ಶಿವನಬಳಿ
10. Shetti bali ... Shetti = a fish.  
ಶೆಟ್ಟಿಬಳಿ
11. Chendi bali ... Chendi = a tree *Cerbera Odollam*  
ಚೆಂದಿಬಳಿ
12. Honne balli ... Honne = a tree *Calophyllum inophyllum*.  
ಹೊನ್ನೆಬಳಿ.

The eponymous animal or tree of each *bali* is worshipped by the members of the sub-division, who are careful to refrain from injuring it at all times.

Marriages are prohibited between members of the same *bali*. A member of the caste can marry his father's sister's daughter, and may marry his deceased wife's sister. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Girls are married between the ages of eight and twelve and boys between fourteen and twenty. A girl who is not married by the age of twelve is considered to have lost caste, and commonly lives by prostitution. Polygamy is allowed if the first wife is barren. Polyandry is unknown.

The first ceremony in a marriage is that of rubbing the boy and the girl with turmeric and oil. A Havig Bráhmaṇ is asked to fix a lucky day for binding the *bashing* or marriage coronet round the bridegroom's head. The essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony is the *dhāre* or pouring of milk on the joined hands of the bride and bridegroom. This is done by the bride's father. The remarriage of widows is not permitted. Divorce is allowed with the sanction of the *Shetthi* or headman of the caste. A divorced woman is not allowed to marry again. The main body of the caste follow the *makkalu-santán* or practice of succession through males. The *aliya-santán* or succession through females is only practised by minority.

The Suppalligs belong to the Hindu religion. Their chief object of worship is Venkatráma of Tirupati. They also reverence the leading Bráhmaṇ gods and respect the local village deities such as Chavdi, Jatga, Eru and Mhasti. Offerings of fowls, ghi, oil, rice and *khichri* (rice and pulse mixed together) are made to the village gods on Tuesdays, Thursdays, on Dasara day, and on the *Bhānds* or hook-swinging festivals, which are always held in May before the sowing season. Offerings to Venkatráma are made on Saturdays only. The caste observes the leading Hindu holidays and believes in soothsaying, witchcraft and sorcery. Havig Bráhmaṇs are employed to conduct marriage and death ceremonies. Those who can afford it burn the dead; the rest bury. The well-to-do collect the ashes of the burnt, carry them to Gokarn, and throw them in the river Támbraṅauri. The ceremony of *shrāddh* is performed for the propitiation of ancestors.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is music. Their instruments are the bass-horn or *shrili*, the clarionet or *movri*, the double drum or *sammelū*, the drum or *dholu*, cymbals or *tāl* and the small drum or *gūlbūdkī*. Like Bhandári Vájantris they perform in temples and in private houses on high days and during street processions. Some of them own lands and till them themselves. Some are *chalgani* tenants, that is tenants-at-will, and some *mulgani* or permanent tenants. They also work in the fields. Before the salt works in Bhatkal were closed they were employed in making salt.

They eat fish and flesh of all descriptions and drink liquor. They will smoke the *gulgudi* or hubble-bubble pipe after any other caste without objection.





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**CASTE—KOTEGAR.**

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## Kotegar (ಕೊಟೇಗಾರ)

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Kotegars (ಕೊಟೇಗಾರ) also called Metris, numbering 124, including 85 males and 39 females, are found entirely in the Kánara district, with the exception of a few emigrants in Belgaum. They are said to have once been a strong clan whose original seat was in the Karnátak uplands. They are also found in South Kánara where they hold a good position among middle class Hindus and number nearly 4,000. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. They are split up into exogamous sub-divisions known as *bedagus*. Marriages between members of the same *bedagu* are prohibited. Outsiders are not admitted into this caste.

Girls are generally married between ten and fourteen and boys between sixteen and twenty-five. The caste has no rule that girls must be married before attaining puberty. Sexual license before marriage appears to be tolerated to some extent, and girls who become pregnant before marriage are not turned out of the caste. Polygamy is allowed and practised. Polyandry is unknown. Their marriage ceremonies last six days. On the first day the boy and girl in their own houses are rubbed with coconut oil, bathed and dressed in new clothes. On the second and third day no ceremonies are performed, but daily feasts are held. On the fourth day the boy is decked in holiday clothes, adorned with the wedding garland, and led to the girl's house where an earthen pot called *airane moge* is brought from a potter's house, filled with water, and placed on a spot in the marriage booth. The bride and bridegroom are made to hold the pot with their hands, and four smaller pots are brought and placed on four sides of the couple; a thread is then passed round them by an elder member of the family, who takes the *airane moge* from the couple and pours its contents on their hands, thus ending the marriage ceremony. The boy is kept two days at the girl's house; on the sixth day he returns to his house with his bride. The remarriage of widows is allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Kotegars are Hindus and worship the village gods and goddesses, especially Maila, Gulyamma, Yallamma and Mariamma, and offer them sheep and fowls. They have strong faith in soothsaying, witchcraft and ghosts. They respect Bráhmans, but do not employ them as priests. All their ceremonies are conducted by members of the caste. The dead are generally buried in a sitting posture. Those who can afford it burn their dead. No death day is observed.

Kotegars are employed in burying paupers or strangers, sweeping the streets, carrying torches, acting as guides, removing and skinning dead animals, in basket-making, and in selling firewood and grass. They seem to have fallen socially beneath the main body of the caste in South Kánara, who are petty shop-keepers and brick-layers. They allow prostitution in the case of both their married and unmarried women. They eat the flesh of sheep and fowls, beef, pork and fish of all kinds, and even carrion. They eat the leavings of other caste and drink liquor.







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**MONOGRAPH No. 21.**

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**CASTE—SINDHAVA.**

*LOCALITY—KAIRA, PALANPUR  
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## Sindhava.

Sindhavás (सिंधवा) or Shenvás (शेनवा), numbering 2,170, including 1,165 males and 1,005 females, are found in the Kaira district and Pálanpur State, and a few families in Rewá Kántha. The caste has decreased rapidly since 1881 when the number was returned at 5,956, and 1891 when it was 4,628. In Pálanpur they are known as Shenvás, elsewhere as Sindhavas. Their main occupation is plaiting wild date leaves into mats, the name Sindhava being derived from *shendi*, the wild date palm. The caste has no endogamous divisions or exogamous sub-divisions. The families are known by the names of the places in which they reside, *e. g.*, Anandaria : from Anand ; Pálanpuri : from Pálanpur, etc. Marriage is prohibited within four degrees of relationship. A man may marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two sisters. In theory a member from a higher caste may be admitted into this caste, but the only instance known is that of a Dhed who was admitted on his giving a dinner to the caste people. Marriage is generally infant. Polygamy is allowed, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of betrothal is made by the girl's father. The boy's father usually pays to the girl's father a sum of Rs. 30. The day for the marriage is fixed by a Garuda priest, who conducts the ceremony. The marriage commences with the installation of Ganpati. Then follow *kulenás* in which feasts are given to relations and friends by the parties to the match, who in their turn feast the bride and bridegroom. The marriage booth is next erected and turmeric paste is applied to the bride and the bridegroom (*Pithi*). The bridegroom then goes in procession to the girl's house with a *khumpa* (marriage garland) fixed on his head and a knife or a dagger and a cocoanut in his hand. He is made to sit on a low wooden stool in the marriage booth and the girl is seated by his side. Then follows the ceremony of *hastameláp*, *i. e.*, the joining of the right hands of the bride and bridegroom, marriage garlands being fastened round their necks. The *mangalphero*, in which the bride and bridegroom go five times round the sacred fire, is the binding portion of the ceremony.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow generally marries her late husband's younger brother. She cannot marry her father's sister's, mother's sister's, or mother's brother's son ; but she may marry a member of her late husband's family. A widow's marriage is celebrated on a Sunday, Tuesday or Thursday. Unwidowed women are not allowed to be present on the occasion. The ceremony consists in tying a *nádu* cotton thread round the right wrist of the man and the left wrist of the woman. Should a bachelor desire to marry a widow, he must first be married to a *shami* or *jhingi* bush. Divorce is allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Sindhavás are Bijmárgis, Rámánujas and devotees of Rámdi Pir and Bhildi Máta. Except the devotees of Bhildi Máta, they have no

household gods. Bhildi Māta is represented by a cocoanut, and is only worshipped when an enemy is to be worried. They observe the ordinary Hindu fasts and feasts, but the followers of Rāndi Pir fast on new-moon days and do not work on Fridays. Most of them believe in sorcery, witchcraft, omens, and the evil eye. When an epidemic breaks out, Shitalānata (small-pox goddess) is worshipped, lamps fed with ghi are lighted, and cocoanuts are offered. The *shami* and *jhingi* trees are worshipped on the tenth day of the bright half of *āso* with offerings of molasses. Their religious head, who resides at Dākor, occasionally visits them and receives two to eight annas from each house. Some of them go on fair days to Amba, Bahuchra, Dākor, and Dwārka. They do not enter the temple, but worship standing near the door. Their priests are Gārudās. The dead are buried with head to the north. No ceremonies are performed for the propitiation of ancestors.

Most of the Sindhavs earn their living by plaiting wild date leaves into matting or making brooms or ropes of *bhindi Hibiscus esculentus* fibre. The rest are letter-carriers, messengers, barbers, and village servants. As village servants they enjoy a yearly cash allowance of Rs 12 and hold and till small plots of land. In their leaf plaiting and field work they are helped by their wives and children.

They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, cows, fowls, and ducks, and drink liquor. They rank between Dheds and Bhangis.





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**MONOGRAPH No. 22.**

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**CASTE — GADRI.**

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## Gádris.

Gádris (गार्दी), numbering 1,337 including 686 males and 651 females, are chiefly found in the Ahmadabad, Broach, Kaira and Panch Mahals districts. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste, nor are any exogamous sub-divisions discoverable above families bearing the same surname. The commonest surnames are Chuván चुवाण, Mori मोरी, Dakharata दखरता, Megadi मेगडी, Násania नासणिसा, Gelot गेलोट, and Gujjar गुज्जर. Persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry, and marriages are prohibited within four degrees of relationship. A man may marry his deceased wife's sister. Two brothers may marry two sisters. Gádris move about in search of pasture during the dry season, and return to their homes during the monsoon. Marriage is adult, girls being married at fifteen or sixteen, and boys a little later. Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated. If a girl commits sexual indiscretions with a casteman, he is compelled to marry her. Polygamy is permitted, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of marriage is made by the boy's father, who pays a sum of Rs. 35 to the girl's parents for marriage expenses. The settlement of the marriage day and the ceremony itself are entrusted to a Bráhmaṇ priest. Marriage booths are erected at both houses with posts of *salala* wood ornamented with leaves of *ásopáto* (*polyalthia longifolia*). The chief ceremonies in a marriage are *Ganeshpūja*, worship of Ganesh; *Pitthi chauthavaru*, rubbing the bride and bridegroom with turmeric paste; *Varghodo*, starting of the bridegroom in procession for the girl's house; and the worship of the potter's wheel. The essential and binding portion of the ceremony consists in the mutual untying of the *kankans* (cotton threads) tied round the wrists of the bride and bridegroom. The *devaks* or marriage guardians of the caste consist of the sword, and the leaves of the *khápara* (*Tiranthema mongogyna*), mango, reed (*horu*), *ghathor*, and *makhuda*.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow can marry a member of her late husband's section; and may marry his younger brother, but not the elder. A widow's marriage must be celebrated at night on a Sunday or Tuesday. The ceremony consists in putting on new clothes and the tying into a knot of the hems of their garments by an elderly widow. Divorce is allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

They follow the Hindu religion, worshipping Rám and Shakti. Offerings of goats, sheep, and fowls are made to Shakti and Ghoddev on Divali day. Stone images of dead ancestors are made and worshipped during the Dasara and Divali holidays. Gádris make pilgrimages to the Ganges, Dwarka, Dakor, and Onkarji. Their religious teachers are Gosávis or Bairágis. They employ Bráhmaṇs to conduct marriage and death ceremonies. The dead are burnt, and the bones and ashes consigned to the water. Those who can afford it, carry a few of the bones to the Ganges. On the eleventh day after death a ceremony known as *Sarátavaru* is performed in which a male and a female calf are married and set at liberty. The caste perform the Shráddh.

The occupation of the caste is the rearing of sheep. They also cultivate land and work as field labourers.

They eat fish and the flesh of goats and fowls, and drink liquor.







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**CASTE—OTARI.**

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## Otari.

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Otáris ( ओतारी ) or metal casters, from the Maráthi *ot* to cast, numbering 1,290, including 650 males and 640 females, are found in small numbers scattered all over the Deccan and the Konkan. The caste is Hindu, and it seems probable that 18 males returned as Musalmán in the Census of 1901, are wrongly classified. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. There appear to be no exogamous subdivisions above families bearing the same surname. The commonest surnames are Kandore, Khedvan, Sátpute, Vandar, Kalasút, Sávan, Chápe, Tarál, etc. A member of the caste cannot marry his father's sister's or mother's sister's daughter. He may marry his maternal uncle's daughter. A man may marry two sisters and two brothers may marry two sisters. Girls are generally married between the age of five and twelve and boys between fifteen and twenty. Misconduct on the part of a girl before marriage is not uncommon, and if brought to light, is punished with a fine or by a dinner given to the caste people. If the man involved be a member of the caste, he is similarly punished; but if he be of a lower caste such as a Mhár or Máng, the girl is turned out of the caste. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of marriage is made by the boy's father. The settlement of the marriage day and the ceremony itself are entrusted to a Bráhmañ priest. The principal ceremonies are *Sogarik* in which the boy's father presents to the girl a new robe and bodice, a rupee, and a packet of sugar; *Laginghada*, i.e., fixing the marriage day; *Halad* or rubbing the boy and the girl with turmeric paste; *Belmáthan*, the fixing of the post of the marriage booth; *Telan*, the sprinkling of oil on the bride and the bridegroom by married women; *Lagna*, the marriage, in which the boy and the girl are seated opposite to each other, a cloth is held between them, sacred verses are repeated by the Bráhmañ priest, after which the boy takes hold of the girl's hands and the priest fastens round their necks nine-stringed garlands; *Hátola*, the giving away of the bride to the bridegroom; *Ujjáhom*, the marriage sacrifice; *Kasára*, mutual feeding of the bride and bridegroom with raw sugar and ghi; and *Mangalvedha*, walking thrice round the sacrificial fire, the last being the essential portion of the ceremony. The *Devaks* or marriage guardians of the caste consist of the leaves of the mango tree, of the *Shami* (*prosopis spicijera*), the Indian fig tree, jujube tree, and *calotropis gigantea*. In addition, some worship the *Páñdi* or pair of scales as a *Devak*.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow can marry her father's sister's or mother's brother's son. She is not allowed to marry her mother's sister's son or a member of her late husband's section. A widow's marriage must be celebrated at night on a Sunday, Friday or Tuesday from the eighth to the last day of the dark fortnight of a month. The caste *Panch*, a Bráhmañ priest, and

the relations and friends are present on the occasion. The widow's new husband gives her a sum of money for purchasing clothes and ornaments. The ceremony consists in seating the widow and her new husband side by side on low wooden stools, applying red powder to the widow's forehead, and the bringing together of the heads of bride and bridegroom by the Bráhmaṇ priest. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is allowed with the sanction of the caste *Panch*. The caste follow the Hindu Law of inheritance.

Otáris belong to the Hindu religion. Their family gods are Kál-kádevi of Paithan, Ambábái of Aundh, Jotíba of Ratnágiri, Khandoba of Jejuri, and Sidhoba of Mhasvad. They have house images and worship Bahiroba, Bahiráji, Bhaváni, Dhanái, Janái, Khandoba, Máruti, and Nággji. Images of persons who have died a violent death are installed among the household gods. Offerings of domestic fowls and goats are made to the village gods on any day except Mondays and *Ekádashis*. Otáris worship the implements of their work such as scales and saws on the last day of *A'shád*h and *Pálgun*. Vows and offerings are sometimes made to Musalmán Pirs. The Indian fig tree, the banyan tree and the pipal are worshipped. Otáris go on pilgrimage to Saptashringi, Alandi, Jejuri, Pandharpur, Benares, Násik and Tuljápur. Their priests are Deshasth Bráhmaṇs. They observe all the Hindu holidays.

The dead are either burnt or buried. The ordinary funeral rites are observed and a feast is given to the caste people on the eleventh day after death. On this occasion one of the nearest relations of the chief mourner presents him with a new turban. He puts it on, goes to a village temple, bows to the god, and returns home. For the propitiation of dead ancestors *Shráddh* is performed every year.

The main occupation of the caste is casting metal. They make molten images of Hindu gods, platters, jingling bells and *Sodvis* or toe-rings. The women assist by preparing earthen moulds, blowing the bellows, and hawking the toe-rings.

They eat fish and the flesh of sheep, goats, hares, deer, and domestic fowls. They drink liquor.





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## Ghadshi.

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Ghadshis (घडशी), numbering 1,661, including 771 males and 890 females, are found in small numbers throughout the Deccan and the Konkan. They are divided into two endogamous divisions, Baramáse and Akaramáse, the latter being the illegitimate offspring of the former. The exogamous subdivisions of the caste are families bearing the same surname or groups of families with the same *Devak*, or marriage guardian. The commonest surnames are, Bhonsale, Chaván, Gaikwád, Ghorpade, Jádhav, More, Pawár, Rámgade, Suryavanshi, Sálunke, Jagtáp, Shinde and Dhumál. A man may marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He is allowed to marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Concerning their origin, the Ghadshis relate that, when Ráma was being married to Sita, there were no musicians; Ráma, therefore, made three images of sandalwood, and breathing life into them, gave one the drum *Símbal*, and the other two the pipes *Sur* and *Sauai*. According to another story, Rávan was their patron and gave the whole of the Deccan to the Ghadshis. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste. Males are generally married between ten and thirty, and girls between two and fourteen. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The negotiations for a marriage are commenced by the boy's father. The settlement of the marriage day and the ceremony itself are entrusted to a Bráhmaṇ priest. The marriage ceremonies of the Ghadshis resemble those of the Kunbis, the essential and binding portion consisting in the fastening of the lucky necklace round the bride's neck by the bridegroom. Their *Deraks* or marriage guardians appear to be the same as those of the Maráthás.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow cannot marry her maternal aunt's son or a member of her late husband's section. A widow's marriage can be celebrated on any day of the dark fortnight of a month. Unwidowed women are not allowed to be present on the occasion. The ceremony consists in the worship of Ganpati by the widow and by her new husband, the filling of the widow's lap by a Bráhmaṇ priest, and the drinking of milk from the same cup by the couple. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is allowed. A divorced woman can marry again adopting the widow remarriage ceremony. The caste follow the Hindu Law of inheritance.

Ghadshis are Hindus and worship all the local and Bráhmaṇic gods and goddesses, chiefly Bahiroba, Khandoba and Máruti. Images of dead ancestors are installed among the house gods and worshipped daily with offerings of cooked food. The *Pipal* and the musical instruments on which they play are worshipped. When an epidemic breaks out offerings are made to Devi. They observe all the Hindu holidays. The dead are either burnt or buried. Those who have married widows must be buried. The unmarried dead are carried in

a blanket or *Jholi* on the shoulders of two men ; others are laid on a bier. In other respects their death rites resemble those of the Kunbis.

Ghadshis are hereditary musicians. They play on the drum and pipes and are good singers. Their instruments are the *Sanai* costing Rs. 5, the *Sur* Rs. 2, the *Sambal* Rs. 10 and the kettledrum or *Nagára* Rs. 20. During the marriage season their services are in constant demand, and as wandering minstrels they are much in favour at all seasons. A few own lands. Many are in receipt of yearly allowances from villagers for their services in playing at the village temples. Some are day labourers.

They eat fish and the flesh of goats, sheep, domestic fowls, and wild game. They drink liquor.





**Draft.**

The  
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**MONOGRAPH No. 25.**

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**CASTE — GHISADI.**

*LOCALITY—THE DECCAN, KONKAN  
AND THE KARNATAK.*

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## Ghisádi.

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Ghisádis ( घिसाडी ) or tinkers, also called Bailne Kombárs or outside ironsmiths in Belgaum, numbering (1901) 3,255, including 1,640 males and 1,615 females, are found scattered in small numbers throughout the Deccan, Konkan and the Karnátak. The name Ghisádi seems to come from the Maráthi *ghisane* = to rub. According to their own story they are called after a certain Ghisádi who overcame and killed a famous gymnast. They have no memory of any earlier home, but their home tongue, which is a corrupt. Gujaráti, suggests that they were formerly settled in Gujarát. They now wander from place to place during the fair weather, living in temporary sheds called *páls* formed by fixing two forked poles in the ground, laying a third pole in the forks of the two uprights, and stretching a cloth or large blanket over the horizontal pole so as to form a tent with sloping sides and open ends. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste, nor do there appear to be any exogamous sub-divisions above families having the same surname. The commonest surnames are Chaván, Charváse, Kátkar, Padvalkar, Powár, Sálunke, Selár, Shinde, Suryavanshi and Khetri. Marriages are prohibited within four degrees of relationship on the boy's side and three degrees on the girl's side. A member of the caste can marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Marriage is infant as well as adult. Baby-girls are sometimes married by tying the marriage garland to the cradle. Women occasionally remain unmarried till they are thirty. If a girl is guilty of sexual indiscretions with a casteman, the latter is compelled to marry her, and the parents of both the parties are either fined or made to give a feast to the caste people. If the offence is committed with a man of a lower caste, the offender is turned out of the caste. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown.

The offer of marriage is made by the boy's father, who has to pay to the girl's father a sum known as *dej*, varying from Rs. 25 to Rs. 100. The betrothal takes place either a day or even a year or two before the marriage, when the boy's father presents the girl with a robe and a bodice-cloth and feasts the caste people. On the day before the marriage the *devak* or marriage guardian is installed at the houses of both the parties. It consists of *pínchpálvi*, i. e., leaves of five kinds of trees, viz. mango, *umbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *jambhul* (*Syzigium jambolanum*), *saundal* (*Prosopis spicigera*), and *rui* (*Calatropis gigantea*). The *devak* is placed on a dish with a *dhán\** or shovel and taken to the temple

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\* Before the passing of the Arms Act a sword was used in the place of a *dhán*.

of Māruti with music by a band of friends accompanied by two married couples, one from the bride's and the other from the bridegroom's house, whose skirts are tied together. There the *devak* and Māruti are worshipped, a betelnut and a pice are placed before the image of the god, and the *devak* is brought back and placed before the household gods until the ceremony is ended. The family gods are worshipped, a goat is slain in their name and the caste people are feasted. In Belgaum and Bijāpur the custom of installing the *devak* appears to have died out; in its place a *gondhal* dance is performed to propitiate the gods. The marriage ceremonies are (1) rubbing the bride and the bridegroom with oil, (2) *halad* or applying turmeric paste to the boy and the girl, (3) *Simāntpujan* or reception of the bridegroom by the bride's father at the village gate, (4) *varadhava* or going of the bridegroom in procession to the girl's house for the marriage, (5) *kanyādān* or making a gift of the bride to the bridegroom, (6) *rukhwat* or sending sweetmeats to the bridegroom by the bride's father, (7) the marriage sacrifice, and (8) *varāt* or taking the bride to the bridegroom's house in procession after the marriage is over. The essential and binding portion consists in the bride and the bridegroom walking round the sacrificial fire.

The re-marriage of widows is permitted. A widow cannot marry her mother's sister's, father's sister's or maternal uncle's son, or has member of her late husband's section. A widow's marriage can be celebrated on the dark nights of any month except Chaitra, Ashāni and Bhādrapad. The ceremony consists in worshipping Ganpati and Varuna, applying red powder to the widow's forehead, the filling of her lap by a Brāhman priest, and the mutual utterance of each others name by the couple. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is not allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Ghisādis are Hindus and chiefly belong to the Vārkari and Kabir sect. Their family deities are Bahiri, Bālāji of Giri in the Madras Presidency, Bhawāni, Khandoba, Satvāi, Yamāi, Kālamma, Ambābāi and Yallamma; and they also worship the village gods and gods of the boundary. The *tulas* or sweet basil plant, the banyan tree and *ambar* (*Picus glomerata*), weapons, sacred books and account books are worshipped. Offerings of goats and fowls are made to Khandoba on Sundays, and to Janāi or Jokhāi on Tuesdays, Fridays or Sundays. When cholera or small-pox breaks out Mariāi and Shitalādevi are propitiated by offerings of goats and cooked food. Ghisādis make pilgrimages to Alandi, Dehu, Jejuri, Pandharpur and Tuljapur. They observe all the Hindu holidays. They are great believers in soothsaying and witchcraft. Their priests are the ordinary local Brāhmans.

The married dead are burnt, the unmarried being buried with head to the north. The ordinary funeral rites are observed; but in the case of violent death, if the corpse is not found, an image of wheat flour is made in the name of the dead and the funeral rites are performed over it. The ceremony of *shrāddh* is in use.

The principal occupation of the Gihisádís is working in iron. They  
 Occupation and diet. are wandering tinkers, and make horse-shoes,  
 iron spoons, sickles, reaping hooks and other  
 field tools including cart axles and wheels. In the Belgaum District  
 they are at times of assistance to robbers, supplying them with spear-  
 heads, and other weapons.

They eat goats, sheep, deer, hare, poultry and fish, and drink liquor.









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**MONOGRAPH No. 26.**

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**CASTE — MOGER.**

*LOCALITY—KANARA.*

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## Mogers.

Mogers ಮೊಗೇರ, numbering 4,502, including 2,550 males and 1,952 females, are found in the Honávar and Kumta talukas of the Kánara district. The occupation of the caste was originally fishing, but the branch now settled in Kumta have discarded this for a higher calling, and attempt to disclaim connection with the remainder by describing themselves as the *daldál* or broker's caste, and endeavouring to copy the customs of the Gaud Sárasvat Bráhmans. It is stated that the Mogers were once foot soldiers in the service of the kings of Banvasi, but no historical confirmation of this statement is forthcoming. Mogers consist of three endogamous divisions, the Aliyasantána, Makalasantána, and Randesantána, *i. e.*, those who inherit through females, those who inherit through males, and the descendants of widows who remarry. Their exogamous sub-divisions, known as *balis*, are as follows :—

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| (1) Shetti bali<br>ಶೆಟ್ಟಿ ಬಳಿ    | ... Shetti = a fish.                                     |
| (2) Deva bali<br>ದೇವ ಬಳಿ         | ... Deva = god.  |
| (3) Honne bali<br>ಹೊನ್ನೆ ಬಳಿ     | ... Honne = a tree.<br>( <i>Pterocarpus Marsupium.</i> ) |
| (4) Dyavana bali<br>ದ್ಯಾವನ ಬಳಿ   | ... Dyava = a tortoise.                                  |
| (5) Kendi bali<br>ಕೆಂದಿ ಬಳಿ      | ... Kendi = a tree.                                      |
| (6) Chendi bali<br>ಚೆಂದಿ ಬಳಿ     | ... Chendi = a tree.<br>( <i>Cerbera odollam.</i> )      |
| (7) Gangádhār bali<br>ಗಂಗಾಧರ ಬಳಿ | ... Unknown.   |
| (8) Hole bali<br>ಹೊಲೆ ಬಳಿ        | ... Unknown.   |
| (9) Balin bali<br>ಬಲಿನ ಬಳಿ       | ... Bali = a sea fish.                                   |
| (10) Ane bali<br>ಆನೆ ಬಳಿ         | ... Ane = an elephant.                                   |
| (11) Shirin bali<br>ಶಿರಿನ ಬಳಿ    | ... Sher or sherkul.<br>( <i>Acacia speciosa.</i> )      |

(12) Tolana bali ... Tola = a wolf.

• ತೊಲನ ಬಳಿ

(13) Shendi bali ... Unknown.

ಶೆಂದಿ ಬಳಿ

Members of each *bali* show a reverence to, and abstain from injuring, the object, after which it is named. The *bali* is traced through females. In cases of adoption the members of the *bali* from which the adoption is made cannot marry with the members of the adopting *bali* for seven generations.

The Mogers speak Kánarese at home, but most of them know Konkani. The names in common use among men are, Manjayya, Bájiráo, Timmappa, Subráyya, Dása, Venkappa, Jettayya, Annappa, Kántappa, Ráma and Siddappa; and among women Parmeshiri, Subadri, Padmávatí, Mahálakshmi, Ganpi, Devamma, Shivamma and Venkamma. They had originally no surnames, but names formerly used to distinguish families from one another by means of the situation of their houses and professions have come to be treated as surnames. Examples of these are: Mápári meaning salt-weighers, Hádímani or roadside house, Kadímani or last house, and Táríbagla or ferry gate.

The Mogers have an hereditary headman called *budrant* who has Organization. power to call caste meetings and settle minor disputes. Important cases are settled by the religious head of the caste, the Swámi of Paratgali. Outsiders are not admitted into this caste.

Girls are married before they come of age, boys from the age of Marriage. ten to thirty. A member of the caste can marry his maternal uncle's daughter, but not his mother's sister's daughter. A man may marry his deceased wife's sister. Brothers cannot marry sisters. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The remarriage of widows is allowed, but is said to be seldom practised. The offer of betrothal generally comes from the girl's family. Formerly the marriages of Mogers were celebrated after the fashion of the Ambigs, but of late they have adopted the marriage ceremonies of the Gaud Sárasvat Bráhmans. The essential portions consist in the mutual exchange of garlands by the bride and bridegroom, the *Dháré* ceremony and the *homa* or marriage sacrifice. Divorce is not allowed. The main body of the caste follow the Makalasantána or succession through males. The Aliyasantána or succession through females is only practised by the minority.

They belong to the Hindu religion and are followers of the Vaish- Religion. nav sect. Their spiritual guide is the head of the Vaishnav monastery at Paratgali in Gol. They pay him contributions and in return are branded with hot metal's seals bearing the conchshell, discus, mace, and lotus of Vishnu. They reverence all Bráhman and village gods, especially Vithoba and

Venkataráma, whose images they keep in their houses. They have also a great regard for *Jalgas*, to whom offerings of goats and fowls are made. They have great faith in sorcery, soothsaying and in the spirits of the dead. They observe all the Hindu holidays. Their priests are Havik Bráhmans.

They burn their dead, burying those who die of cholera, small-pox and leprosy, and children who have not cut their teeth. Formerly their funeral rites were like those of the Ambigs, but of late they have adopted the Bráhmanical ritual.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is catching fish. Most of them have abandoned this occupation, although Mogers are still to be found at Honávar who follow the traditional calling. The Kumta Mogers have taken to trade in cotton, rice and betelnuts. They also serve as clerks and brokers. Some of them hold lands, while some are tenants of superior holders.

The staple food of the caste is *rági*, rice and fish. They eat flesh and drink liquor, though the Kumta Mogers profess that they now abstain from both. They take *kacchi* and *pakki* from Bráhmans only.









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**CASTE—GHADI.**

*LOCALITY—KANARA.*

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## Ghadi.

GHADIS (ಘಡಿಸಿ) or Soothsayers, numbering 1,592 (1901), including 724 males and 868 females, are found in the Kárwár, Kumta, and Ankola talukas of the Kánara District. They have neither endogamous nor exogamous sub-divisions. Marriages are prohibited between descendants of a common ancestor. A member of the caste can marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Girls are generally married between nine and twelve, and boys between fourteen and eighteen. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father, who has to give three *khandis* of rice grains and Rs. 12 to the girl's father. The day for the marriage is fixed by the village priest who conducts the service. The betrothal known as *vappalu* takes place two or three days before the marriage, when the girl is presented with ornaments, flowers, and articles of dress by the boy's father. In the afternoon of the marriage day the boy starts in procession for the girl's house. At about ten or twelve yards from the house a festoon is hung, under which he is received by the girl's party. He is then led into the marriage booth, the girl is brought and made to stand before him, and they are made to put garlands round one another's necks, this being the binding portion of the ceremony. Their hands are then joined, and the girl's father pours water over them (*dháre*). This is followed by the marriage sacrifice; and the pair finally walk five times round the sacrificial fire. On the following day the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric paste and oil, and the boy returns to his house with his bride.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow remarriage can be celebrated on any day except the full-moon and new-moon days from the beginning of *Ashadh* to the end of *Kártik* and in *Poush*. Males and remarried widows only are present on the occasion. The widow has to return to the relations of her deceased husband the clothes and ornaments received by her from him, and her new husband has to pay them a sum of Rs. 6. First, the widow and her new husband are bathed and seated on a low wooden stool or a blanket. Next, the widow wears a new robe and ornaments presented to her by her new husband. Red-powder is then applied to her forehead and her lap is filled. A feast to the party assembled ends the ceremony. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is not allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

They are Hindus. Their family gods are Venkataráma of Tirupati and his attendant Hanumanta, and their patron god is Mahádev of Kárwár. They also worship Dád, Vetál, Jatga, Bhandinás, and other minor gods to whom they offer goats and fowls on all days except



Sundays. They observe all the Hindu holidays. They do not go on pilgrimages. Their spiritual teacher is the head of the Shringeri monastery. When an epidemic breaks out, goats, fowls, robes and bodice cloths are offered to Máramma, Durgamma, and Kálamma. Their priests are the Havig or Joishi Bráhmans.

Those who can afford it burn the dead; the rest bury. At burial the corpse is laid with head to the north. On the eleventh day after death the caste is feasted.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is soothsaying and slaying animals offered to village gods. They also work as labourers and husbandmen. They do not possess their own land, but take land on lease. Formerly they tilled only *kumri* or hill clearings, but recent restrictions have forced them to take to regular field work.

They take animal food, but do not drink liquor. They rank next to Ilálvakki Vakkals.





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**LOCALITY—KÁNARA.**

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## Bā'ndi.

BĀNDIS (ಬಾಂದಿ) or bondsmen, numbering 7,920 including 3,781 males and 4,139 females, are found in Kārwar and Kunta and along the coast as far as Honávar in the Kánara District. They are either the descendants of slaves, either imported or captured in war, once the property of the landed proprietors, or the offspring of women taken in adultery. The caste is still recruited from the latter source, but a movement is in progress which aims at the adoption of the ceremonies and restrictions of the higher castes, and in this manner the true origin of the caste is likely in time to be obscured. They now style themselves Konkani Devdigs, Bhandáris, Kád Haviks, and Kád Konkans, with a view to concealing their real status as Bāndis.

The members of the caste now profess to belong either to a particular *gotra* or *bali*, but it seems unlikely, in view of the system of recruitment which prevails, that the majority of members could belong to a *bali* or *gotra* other than that of some outside caste from which they were recruited. Regular exogamous sections do not seem to exist in the caste.

Marriage is rare, the girls generally becoming prostitutes. The married women lead irregular lives, though avoiding men of the impure castes. In cases where marriages occur, the offer is made by the boy's father who has to pay a bride-price to the parent of the girl. The ceremonies are the same as in the case of Devlis. Divorce is allowed. Succession is through females.

Bāndis are Hindus. They worship the Bráhmanic gods and evil spirits and offer blood sacrifices to the latter. Their spiritual teacher is the head of the Smárt monastery at Shringeri. Their priests are commonly Joishi Bráhmans, but recently priests of the Havik caste have been employed. From the *guru* of the Ramchandrapur *math* a portion of the caste has recently obtained permission to wear the sacred thread. The concession is rewarded by an annual offering to the *guru*. The dead formerly buried are now burnt. The *shráddh* is performed.

Bāndis are employed as domestic servants by Bráhmans and other high caste Hindus. Their chief work is to clean copper pots and pound rice, cowdung the floor, and bring head-loads of firewood. But some of the men work as carpenters and a few as husbandmen.

They eat fowls, mutton and game, and drink liquor.









**Draft.**

*The*  
*Ethnographical Survey of Bombay.*

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**MONOGRAPH No. 30.**

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**CASTE—UPPÁR.**

*LOCALITY—BELGAUM, BIJAPUR,  
AND KANARA.*

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## Uppār.

UPPĀRS (ಉಪ್ಪರ), numbering 29,351, including 14,838 males and 14,513 females, are found in the Belgaum, Bijāpur, and Kānara districts. The occupation of the caste was formerly salt-making, the name Uppār being derived from *uppu* salt. Now they are chiefly stone-cutters, lime-makers, and masons. It is stated that the original home of the caste was Mysore, where they are found in large numbers (45,405 in 1901). Mr. Rice (Mysore 1,337) notices two divisions of Uppārs: Karnātaks who make salt, and Telugus who make bricks. Buchanan (Mysore 1,304) described the Telugu Uppārs as mud wall builders, husband men, and carriers. They were Vaiṣṇavs, worshipping Dharmaraja and the mothers or *Shaktis*. The caste tradition regarding their origin is that they were created by Shiva to make salt. The caste is split up into three endogamous divisions: Nāmāla Uppār, Katani or Koli Uppār, and Lingāyat Uppār, who neither eat together nor intermarry. The Nāmāda Uppārs wear the sacred threal and abstain from flesh; the Katani Uppārs form the main body of the caste; while the Lingāyat Uppārs are those Uppārs who have embraced Lingāyatism and joined the followers of Basaveshwar.\*

The Uppārs speak Kānarese. The names in common use among men are, Bhima, Hanma, Phakiri, Bala, Mhāsti, Durga, Honnappa, and Manja; and among women, Māri, Kanne, Mhāsti, Durgi, Lakshmi, Mārki, and Nāgu.

The caste contains nine exogamous sub-divisions known as *Belagus*. These are named after the nine sons of one Nāmagopāl, believed to be the common ancestor of the caste. Members of the same *belugu* cannot intermarry. A member of the caste can marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters, and brothers may marry sisters.

Girls are generally married before they attain puberty. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. The offer of betrothal comes from the boy's father, who has to pay a *teru* or bride-price to the girl's father. The day for the marriage is fixed by a Brāhman, who conducts the service. The marriage consists of the following ceremonies:—*Halaḍ*, or rubbing the boy and the girl with turmeric paste; *Devakūrga*, in which a party of males and females goes in procession to a *Pipri* (*Ficus Tsieta*) tree or a *Shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*) bush, which is worshipped by five unwidowed women; a bough is then cut off and brought home and tied to the chief post known as *hālugaṇḍ* of the marriage booth; *Airāni*, or bringing in procession seven earthen jars from a potter's, filling them with water from a well, and worshipping them; and *Pānigrahan*, in which the

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\* For further information regarding Lingāyat Uppārs see "Lingāyat."



right hands of the boy and the girl are joined and a lucky necklace is tied round the girl's neck by the Bráhmaṇ priest, this being the binding portion of the ceremony. On the fourth day after marriage the ceremony of *Meravanige* takes place, when the boy and the girl are taken on a bullock's back to a temple and thence to the bridegroom's house. Amongst the Kánara Uppárs, the marriage ceremony is conducted by a *budvant* or headman of the caste, and the ceremony of *dháre*, or pouring milk over the joined hands of the bride and the bridegroom, is performed.

The re-marriage of widows is permitted. A widow can marry her father's sister's or mother's brother's son. She cannot marry her mother's sister's son or a member belonging to her late husband's section. The ceremony takes place on a dark night. It consists in tying a lucky necklace round the widow's neck, after which a dinner is given. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow. Divorce is allowed. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Uppárs belong to the Hindu religion. The special deities of their worship are Yellamma, Hulideva, Hanumanta, Venkatarama, and Virabhadra. The *Shami* (*Prosopis spiciqera*), the *Bel* (*Ægle marmelos*), the *Pipal*, the sweet basil plant, and the cow are worshipped. They have great faith in sooth-saying, witchcraft, ghosts, and the power of evil spirits. They observe almost all the Hindu holidays, and make pilgrimages to Gokarn, Pandharpur, Tuljápúr, and Tirupati. Silver busts of deceased ancestors are made and installed amongst the household gods. When an epidemic breaks out, the goddess supposed to preside over the disease is propitiated with offerings of water, cooked food, goats, and fowls. Their priests are either Deshasth or Joishi Bráhmaṇs.

The Námada Uppárs burn their dead; but children who have not cut their teeth are buried. The Katani Uppárs bury the dead, except those who have died of leprosy. At burial, the unmarried dead are seated, the married are laid with head to the north. On the eleventh day after death, a feast is given to the caste people. For the propitiation of the deceased ancestors, their busts are worshipped with offerings of articles of dress on a day between the third day of *Vaishákh* and the ninth day of *A'shvin*.

The original occupation of the caste was making salt. When salt-making became a Government monopoly, they took to masonry work, stone-cutting, and making shell-lime. Formerly they also made images of Hindu gods and saints and sold them at considerable profit. Some of them hold land under the *ragatwári* system. A few hold *watan* lands as *pátils*. They also work as day labourers and are paid either in cash or in kind.

The Katani Uppárs eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, and fish, and drink liquor.





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**CASTE—KOMARPAIK.**

*LOCALITY—KANARA.*

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KOMARPAIK.

## Komárpaik.

KOMÁRPAIKS (ಕೋಮಾರಪೈಕ), numbering 9,110 (1901), including 4,349 males and 4,751 females, are met with only in the Kánara District. About 900 are found in the above-ghát talukas, and the rest reside below the gháts. The former are followers of the Lingáyat religion; the latter, once Lingáyats, now appear to have reverted to Hinduism. Until twenty or thirty years ago the caste styled themselves Komárpaiks, but of late they have assumed the more grandiloquent title of '*Khetri Komárpanth*' and now claim to be Kshatriyas. The name *Komárpanth*, or followers of Komár, is probably taken from the Lingáyat teacher Komár Swámi, whose head quarters are in Kaladgi;\* and the word *khetri* is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kshatriya*. The name Komárpaik suggests their being connected with the warrior's profession, *paik* meaning a soldier.

The caste state that they came to Kánara from Kalburga in the Nizám's dominions. They appear to have formerly been soldiers in the service of the Sonda chiefs. After Hailar Ali's conquest of Kánara in 1763, they took to brigandage and became the terror of the country; but since 1799, when the district came under British rule, they have become peaceful and orderly.

Komárpaiks speak a corrupt Kánarese with a mixture of Konkani words. The names in common use among men are, Kira, Chinchal, Purso, Cháru, Chikka, Gutti, Sidráu, Kencha, Giryga, Rumo, Dánu, Siddappa, Munga, Lingappa, Chenna, Ira, Venku, and Mhádu; and among women, Vorái, Vántái, Shivái, Chudái, Budái, Ganái, Se-ái, Anande, Nágma, Neru, Reru, Govri, and Hemái. The men add the word *uúik* or *metri*, meaning headman, to their names.

The caste is split up into eighteen exogamous sub-divisions, which are local in origin. They are as follow :—

| Name.                        |        | Family god.                      |
|------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Kárkonkar                 | ... .. | ... Mallikárjuna.                |
| 2. Phondel ar                | ... .. | ... Mahádev.                     |
| 3. Talpankár                 | ... .. | ... Nirankár.                    |
| 4. Mhásaikar                 | ... .. | ... Mhálsa.                      |
| 5. Mudgerikár or Shivnathkar | ... .. | ... Shivnath.                    |
| 6. Majalkár                  | ... .. | ... Rámnáth and Dád-dev.         |
| 7. Cháikulkár                | ... .. | ... Mahmayi.                     |
| 8. Kimmarkar                 | ... .. | ... Mahádev and the village god. |
| 9. Bádkar                    | ... .. | ... Mahadev and the village god. |
| 10. Nandungaddelar           | ... .. | ... Nágesh.                      |
| 11. Kadwadkar                | ... .. | ... Mahádev and the village god. |
| 12. Kadrekár                 | ... .. | ... Mahmayi.                     |
| 13. Sháwkar                  | ... .. | ... Sidram.                      |

\* Bombay Gazetteer, vol. xv, p. 127.

| Name. |            |     |     | Family god.                  |
|-------|------------|-----|-----|------------------------------|
| 14.   | Belurkar   | ... | ... | Bindumadhav.                 |
| 15.   | Arzekar    | ... | ... | Mahádev and Satai Mhasti.    |
| 16.   | Amdallikar | ... | ... | Mahádev and the village god. |
| 17.   | Ankolkar   | ... | ... | Bhumidevata.                 |
| 18.   | Aursckar   | ... | ... | Kátyáyani.                   |

The caste head-quarters are at Bád near Kárwár. They have a social organization similar to that of the Halépaiks for the settlement of social disputes; but its power is declining. Outsiders are not admitted into this caste.

Marriages are prohibited between members of the same section. Brothers' children and sisters' children cannot marry, but daughters of brothers can be given in marriage to sons of sisters. A sister's daughter may be married to her brother's son, if no other suitable match can be found; but in such cases the parents of the girl have to give her a silver chain during the marriage. The reason for this is said to be the girl's returning to the section from which her mother came. A man may marry a deceased wife's sister and brothers may marry sisters. Double marriages are sometimes arranged in order to curtail the marriage expenses.

Girls are married from eight to twelve; boys from fourteen to twenty. Polygamy is allowed if the first wife is barren. Polyandry is unknown. The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father. The day for the marriage is fixed by an astrologer and the ceremony is conducted by a Bráhmaṇ priest. The betrothal is celebrated on an auspicious day some time before the marriage when the boy's father goes to the girl's house with relations and friends, and presents her with a robe and ornaments which she puts on. Three or four days before the marriage the chief post of the marriage booth is planted at the houses of the boy and the girl. The post at the house of the boy consists of the wood of the *jamba* (*Xylia dolabriformis*) and that at the house of the girl of *kindal* (*Terminalia paniculata*). A lamp is kept burning near the post every evening for a month. A *devakárya*, or a feast in honour of the family gods, is given when the marriage booth is ready. On the morning of the marriage day the girl is rubbed with turmeric paste and oil. From this day to the end of the marriage the girl is attended by a Devli girl, who receives for her services a robe and the money waved round the girl. The boy is attended by his sister's husband. He is presented with a waist-cloth and his wife with a robe. The marriages of Komárpaiks always take place at sunset. Festoons are hung at a distance of about forty yards from the girl's house, where the boy is received by the girl's father, and a hanging lamp is handed over to him. When the party reach the girl's house, the boy's feet are washed by the girl's father and lighted lamps are waved round his face. Next the boy is led into the marriage booth over a cloth spread by a washerman, who is paid annas four. The lamp in the boy's hand is suspended to the booth and he is seated on a cot. The girl is brought and seated before him. A cloth is held between them; sacred verses are repeated; and at the end, the cloth is removed and the boy and the girl throw garlands of *bakul* flowers round each other's neck. The *dháre* ceremony and the marriage sacrifice are then

performed, which are the binding portions. On the following day a ceremony known as *gavan* is performed, in which the bride and bridegroom with four other pairs are seated on a cot, and money presents are made to them by relations and friends, each waving a lighted lamp round their faces. The ceremony ends with a dinner to the caste people. On the third day the boy returns to his house with the girl. In the evening the girl's parents are invited, the ceremony of *gavan* again takes place, and the caste is feasted. On the fourth day the marriage coronet is removed from the boy's head, the pair is taken to the girl's house, the marriage garlands are taken off their necks, and a dinner consisting of flesh, fish, and *paisa*, is given to the boy's party. On the following evening a similar feast is given by the boy's father to the girl's party, which brings the marriage festivities to an end.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow cannot marry a member of her late husband's section. Widow remarriages can be celebrated during those months only when first marriages cannot take place. The widow has to return to the relations of her deceased husband the clothes and ornaments received by her from him. She has also to break the glass bangles on her wrists. This is done under the eaves of her deceased husband's house, when water is poured on her head by one of his relations. The widow then puts on a new robe presented to her by her new husband and goes to his house. The marriage takes place in the verandah. No priest is present. A remarried widow applies redpowder to the widow's forehead and sticks thereto grains of boiled rice. The widow is then presented with clothes and ornaments by her new husband, which completes the ceremony. A remarried widow loses the privileges of taking part in marriages and other ceremonies, but her children's rights are in no way affected. A third marriage is also allowed. But it is believed that the partner of the man or woman who has been twice married is certain to die soon after the marriage. To prevent this, if the man has been twice married before, he is wedded to a plantain tree and fells it with a billhook immediately after the ceremony. If the woman has been twice married before, she is married to a cock whose throat she cuts with a knife as soon as the marriage is over. Divorce is not allowed. A woman taken in adultery is put out of caste. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

The few Komárpáiks residing above the gháts are still staunch Lingáyats; those below the gháts, though they profess to be Hindus, are still Lingáyats in several respects. They honour Lingáyat priests, and at the time of the Holi festival, worship Basava and Shiva's bull; they also sing hymns in honour of Basava's defeat of Bráhmanism. At the same time their change of life to the coast, and probably intermarriages with women of the coast districts, has introduced flesh-eating and other anti-Lingáyat practices. They are disowned by their own people above the Sahyádris and seem to have transferred much of their reverence from the Lingáyat priests to the Joishis. The caste do not belong to any regular Hindu sect. They honour the Lingáyat gods and still support the *jangams*, who live in the Lingáyat temples at Amdalli and Siddar in Kárwár. The objects of their special devotion are Basava, Venkataráma, Kálhacharaya, Mhálpuras or ancestral gods, and *mhástis* or ancestral *salis*, in honour of whom they

hold yearly festiva's. Fruit and flowers are offered to Bráhmānic gods, and blood sacrifices to village and household gods, except to the spirits of *satīs*. They observe all the Hindu holidays and make pilgrimages to Gokarn, Tirupati, Pandharpur, and Benares. On the first evening of the Holi holidays, at the full-moon nearest to the vernal equinox, all men and big boys, each with two wooden sticks, go to either of the temples of Basava, and falling before the idol, lay the sticks in front of it. Then the *ayya* or Lingáyat priest sanctifies the sticks by the touch of his feet. The men and boys then sing Kánarese songs in honour of Basava's triumph over Bráhmanism and dance, keeping time by clashing the sticks. The caste has great faith in soothsaying, and whenever there is illness in the family, soothsayers or *ghádīs* of the Ghádi, Komárpaik, and Kumbhár castes are consulted. The Komárpaiks on the coast tálukas acknowledge the supremacy of the head of the Shringeri monastery in religious matters and abide by the decisions of his agent at Gokarn. Their priests are the Joishi Bráhmans in and about Kárwár and Ankola. In Gokarn and the outside villages of the Ankola táluks the Haviks officiate as their priests, while in the Yallápur táluks the Vaishnava Gaud Sárāsvat Bráhmans are employed for religious and ceremonial purposes.

A century ago the Komárpaiks used to bury their dead in Lingáyat fashion. They now burn their dead, except children who have not cut their teeth, and those who have died of small-pox; these are buried in a lying position with head to the north. In the case of death from small-pox, the remains of the body are exhumed and burnt on the forty-fifth day after death. If this cannot be done, the *páldshavidi* is followed, in which a leaf of the *pálas* tree (*Butea frondosa*) is burnt in the name of the deceased. The bones and ashes of the burnt are thrown in the sea or a river. The mourning ends on the eleventh day after death, when the mourners purify themselves by drinking water brought from the house of their priest, and a dinner is given to the caste people. On this day, as well as on every thirtieth day for a year, a person of the age and sex of the deceased is feasted. The ceremony of *vahát* is performed every year on a day in the latter half of Bhádrapad which corresponds to the death day of one of the deceased ancestors. In the case of violent death, in addition to the ordinary rites, the *náráyanabali* is said to be performed within forty-five days after death. The well-to-do perform the *shráduth*.

The Komárpaiks state that they were originally soldiers by profession. They are now mostly husbandmen and cart-drivers, a few being palm-tappers and palm sugar makers. Some are sawyers and petty contractors. The men are fond of acting and perform dramas written in Kánarese from passages in the Rámāyan and Mahábhárat. Some hold lands, a few paying a yearly assessment up to Rs. 500. Some are tenants of superior holders. Some are day-labourers and are paid at the rate of four annas a day.

They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, wild pigeons, wild boars, and fish. Formerly they did not drink liquor; but of late some have taken to it, though moderately. They eat at the hands of Bráhmans and Vams only. All lower castes except the Gám Vakkals eat at their hands.





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**MONOGRAPH No. 32.**

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**CASTE — PARIT.**

*LOCALITY—THE DECCAN  
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## Parit.

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PARITS (परित) also called Dhobi (धोबी), numbering 14,962 (1901), including 7,307 males and 7,655 females, are found in small numbers scattered all over the Deccan and the Konkan. The occupation of the caste is washing clothes. The term Parit, meaning simply a washerman, includes naturally groups that have little in common beyond their occupation. Thus there are Maráthha, Lingáyat, Kámáthi, and Telangi Parits. Lingáyat Parits are separately described under the name of Agasa. The Kámáthi and Telangi Parits, being foreigners, do not come within the scope of the survey. Another name for Maráthha Parits is Kunbi Parits. The following particulars apply to the Maráthha Parits only.

The Maráthha Parits state that they were originally Maráthás, but were severed from the community on account of their having taken to washing clothes. They are divided into two territorial groups, Deshi and Konkani, the former residing in the Deccan, the latter in the Konkan. The Konkani Parits are also known as Madvals. The two divisions neither eat together nor intermarry. The Deshis are divided into two divisions, the proper and Kadus or bastards. They speak Maráthhi like the Kunbis. The surnames and names of both men and women are the same as those of the Maráthás. The Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. XVII, page 147) states that persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry; but recent enquiries point to the conclusion that, among the Deshi Parits, marriages are prohibited between persons having the same *devak* or marriage guardian, sameness of surnames being no bar to intermarriage. The information regarding the *devaks* of the caste collected so far is as follows :—

| Name of <i>kul</i> . |     |     |     | Name of <i>devak</i> .                                |             |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|---|-------------|
| Pawár                | ... | ... | ... | The sun-flower.                                       |             |
| Gaikwád              | ... | ... | ... | Do.   | do.         |
| Surve                | ... | ... | ... | Leaves of <i>Champa</i> ( <i>Michelia Champaca</i> ). |             |
| Dalve                | ... | ... | ... | Do.   | do.         |
| Kále                 | ... | ... | ... | Leaves of the tamarind tree.                          |             |
| Sálunke              | ... | ... | ... | Do.   | do.         |
| Vágh                 | ... | ... | ... | Do.   | mango tree. |
| Kadam                | ... | ... | ... | Do.   | do.         |

The Bombay Gazetteer states that their *devaks* consist of five kinds of leaves or *páñchpálvis*, a mango branch, the leaves of the *rui* bush

(*Calotropis gigantea*, an Indian millet stalk, flowers or twigs of the *Kalamb* (*Anthocephalus cadamba*), and of the *purtak* creeper. According to one account the *devak* of all the Konkani Parits is the same, *viz.*, the *Kalamb*, but it is more plausibly asserted that every *kal* or section has a separate *devak*. Thus, the *devak* of the Chaváns is the *nág* or cobra, of the Dalvis an axe, and of the Mbádiks the *Kalamb*. Marriages are prohibited between members having the same *devak*, and within five degrees of relationship. A man may marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. Amongst the Deshi Parits a man may marry his deceased wife's sister. A Konkani Parit can marry his wife's sister during her life-time. Amongst the former, two brothers are not allowed to marry two sisters, amongst the latter they can do so. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown.

Boys are generally married from twelve to thirty, girls from ten to fourteen and even after the age of puberty. Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated. Amongst the Deshi Parits, if a girl commits sexual indiscretions with a man of a higher caste she is retained in the caste on her father paying a fine of Rs. 5 to Rs. 25 to the caste *punch* and on his giving a dinner to the caste people. If the offence is committed with a casteman the man is similarly punished and compelled to marry the girl. If the man involved belong to a lower caste the girl is excommunicated. Amongst the Konkani Parits, girls committing such offences are turned out of the caste in all cases.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father, who has to pay a sum of money to the girl's father if he is poor. The day for the marriage is fixed by a Bráhmaṇ, who conducts the service. The marriage ceremonies of Parits do not differ from those of the Kumbis.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow may not marry a member of her deceased husband's section; but amongst the Deshi Parits instances are known of widows having married their late husband's brothers. Amongst them, a widow remarriage can be celebrated on any dark night in the latter half of any month except *Chaitra* and *Bhádrapad*. The ceremony takes place in a lonely locality and is attended only by a few persons. It consists in tying into a knot the ends of the couple's garments. As soon as this is done the party attending the ceremony return home. It is considered unlucky to look on the faces of the pair till the following morning.

Amongst the Konkani Parits a widow remarriage can be celebrated on any day. Elderly male members of the caste, a Kásár, a Bhagat, a Ghidi and a widow are present on the occasion. The widow and her new husband are bathed and taken beyond the village boundary. There the widow removes from her person the clothes and ornaments given to her by her deceased husband, and puts on those presented by the new one. The Kásár puts glass bangles on her wrists and toe-rings on her toes. Next the pair are seated on a blanket, a turban is

placed on the knee of the widow's new husband, and the widow of the party applies red powder to their foreheads, to which she applies grains of rice. Then the widow's new husband takes the turban on his knee and puts it on his head; red powder and rice grains are then applied to the foreheads of the bride and bridegroom by all the party. Two water pots containing water and a copper coin in each, with their mouths closed with mango twigs and coconuts are brought into close contact with their heads by the Ká-ár. Next, in order to appease the spirit of the widow's deceased husband, a rupee is tied into a piece of cloth and buried on the village boundary. Liquor is then served, the skirts of the pair's garments are tied into a knot, the widow takes a cock under her arm and the party start to return to the house of the widow's new husband. When they reach the courtyard, the ghádi waves another cock round their heads and goes away taking the cock as a perquisite. The Bhagat (exorcist) cuts a little of the widow's hair and a piece of her robe, and carries away the cock held by her under her arm. The pair then enter the house, wash their hands and feet and treat the party to a dinner. Every year a cock is offered to propitiate the spirit of the widow's deceased husband. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow.

A husband can divorce a wife on the ground of her infidelity. The divorce is effected by performing funeral rites in the name of the wife. A divorced woman can marry again after the fashion of the widow remarriage ceremony.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance and belong to the Hindu religion. Some of them are followers of the Várkari and the Kabir sect. Their favourite deities are Bahiroba, Khandoba, Mhasoba and Bhaváni. They also worship the village gods and goddesses. The *pipal*, *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*), *ambar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *rañ* (the Indian fig tree), and weapons and implements are worshipped. The Musalmán saints are revered. Parits make pilgrimages to Jejuri, Tuljápúr, Pandharpur, Alandi, and also to Benares if means permit. Their spiritual guide is the head of the Shringeri monastery.

When cholera breaks out a wooden image of the cholera goddess is made and carried in procession in a small wooden cart made for the purpose, round the whole village, and placed on a spot beyond the village boundary. The image is then worshipped with an offering of rice mixed with curds and the party disperse. This ceremony is not peculiar to Parits. People of all castes take part in it, and it is believed that the epidemic leaves the place with the image and enters the village where it is left. The inhabitants of the latter place sometimes carry it to the next village to avert the danger thus brought on them, and so on, until the image is ultimately thrown into a river or the sea.

The priests of the caste are the local Bráhmans. The dead are either burnt or buried. The ordinary funeral rites are observed. For the propitiation of deceased's ancestors uncooked articles of food are

given to Brahmins on those days of the latter half of *Bhādrapad* which represent the death days, and castemen are feasted. The well-to-do perform the *shrāddh*.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is washing clothes. They belong to the class of *balutedārs* or village servants. Village Parits, as a rule, are not paid in cash but in grain. Some of them hold lands and some are labourers.

They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, hares, deer, tortoises and fish and drink liquor. They rank very low in the social scale almost next above the impure classes.







**Draft.**

*The*  
*Ethnographical Survey of Bombay.*

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**MONOGRAPH No. 34.**

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**CASTE—BHAMTA.**

***LOCALITY—THE DECCAN AND THE  
SOUTHERN MARATHA COUNTRY.***

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## Bhāmṭa.

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BHĀMṬĀS (भामटा),\* also called Uchliās, Takāris, and Ghantichors, numbering 2,886 (1901), including 1,446 males and 1,440 females, are a wandering tribe and were found chiefly in Poona, Sātāra, Khān-desh, Belgaum, Bijāpur, and Kolhāpur State at the time of the last census. The census figures are, it is to be feared, misleading, owing to the fact that many of the caste do not disclose their identity as Bhāmṭas when the census is taken, but prefer to return themselves as Marāṭhas or other more respectable castes. They are also occasionally styled Khisa-katrā (pocket-cutters), Vadaris, Kālwadars, Tudug Wadars, and Kāmātis. They take their names Ghantichor and Uchlia from their profession of stealing and picking pockets. Their home speech, which is a broken Telugu, and their names, which have a southern or eastern form, seem to show that they have come from the Telugu districts either of Madras or of the Nizam's country. They have no idea why and when they left their native country, and no memory of having belonged to any other class of Hindus. The author of the Bombay Gazetteer considers that the Poona Bhāmṭas are not true Bhāmṭas, and asserts that the proper Bhāmṭas come, not from the east or south-east, but from the north, and are of Rājput descent. They adopt many disguises in pursuit of their livelihood. At times they keep to some particular disguise for years, and travel hundreds of miles entering and stealing from the houses of the class of people whose dress they adopt.

Bhāmṭas consist of two exogamous sub-divisions, Jādhav and Gāikwād. Marriages are prohibited between members of the same sub-division and within four degrees on the boy's side and three degrees on the girl's side. A member of the caste may marry two sisters, and brothers may marry sisters. With the exception of such castes, as Māngs, Mahārs, Chāmbhārs, Dhors, and Buruds, Bhāmṭas admit all Hindus of the upper and middle classes such as Vānis, Mārwādis, Sūtārs etc., into their tribe. Mahomedans and Berads are also admitted. They also adopt children of other castes and bring them up to their own profession. Adopted boys are called "Konnad" or "Golyad," girls "Konnadi." It is also said that Uchliyas will go so far as to give shelter, in certain cases, to a woman who has got into trouble and belongs to a respectable family. When the child is born, the Bhāmṭa keeps it and sends the mother home with a *sari* and a rupee or two. There are many well known cases of Brāhmans, Mārwāri Vānis, Sonārs, Shimpis, and other upper and middle class Hindus joining the Bhāmṭas. The candidate to be

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\* Much of the information in this note has been supplied to me by the Police Department, through the courtesy of Mr. Michael Kennedy.

admitted passes through two ceremonies, admission to the caste and adoption into a family of the caste. The admission takes place in the presence of the castemen, when the candidate has to pay an admission fee varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 25. Next, he is bathed and dressed in new clothes, music is played and one of the elder members of the caste drops sugar and turmeric into his mouth. A feast follows, during which two or three of the caste elders sit with the novice and eat from the same plate with him. The candidate is then adopted by one of the castemen and becomes a member of the sub-division to which he belongs.

In every village they have a headman of their own, who is usually the oldest resident Bhāntā. He is designated "Pātil," "Takdaru," "Talmad," or "Kattimani," and is the spokesman for the Bhāntās of the village, presides at caste meetings, and is socially respected. "Honour among thieves" is apparently at a discount among them, seeing that there is a well-established trial by ordeal, styled the "Tel-rawa" for the purpose of ascertaining the truth in cases of infidelity among the women and withholding of profits on any member's part. On his return from a thieving expedition a Bhāntā in the Deccan has to pay a tax of 2 annas in the rupee to the Pātil (also called "Talmad") of his caste.

Boys are generally married between ten and twenty; girls between ten and sixteen. If a girl commits sexual indiscretions with a casteman, the latter is fined and made to give a dinner to the caste-people; while the girl is married to a recently joined member of the community, after the widow remarriage fashion. If the offence is committed with a member of a lower caste, the girl is excommunicated; if with a member of a higher caste, it is connived at. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. It is said to be a rule among Bhāntās not to give a girl in marriage till the intended husband has proved himself a dexterous thief.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father who has to pay Rs. 50 to the girl's maternal uncle and Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 to the girl's parents. The day for the marriage is fixed by the boy's parents without consulting an astrologer. The ceremony is conducted by elderly members of the caste. First, the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric paste, when a Holār beats a drum and women sing songs. In the evening of the same day the boy goes in procession to a temple of Māruti, and thence to the girl's house. The boy and the girl are then bathed in the marriage booth, dressed in new clothes, and seated on a blanket on a rice-traced square. The brows of both are decked with tinsel chaplets, and thread wristlets or *kankans* are tied round their wrists. Next, the girl's father ties together the ends of the pair's garments, and yellow grains of rice are thrown over their heads by the party assembled, which completes the union. At night a *goat* dance is performed before the family god, a goat is killed, and caste-men are feasted. After dinner the boy and the girl untie their *kankans*. On the third day the boy returns to his house with his bride and party, which terminates the marriage.

The *devak* or marriage guardian of the Gáikwáds consists of the leaves of the *jámbhul* (*Eugenia jambolana*), a knife, and an axe; that of the Jádhs, of an ear of *jowari* and a cocoanut. The *devak* is tied to a post of the marriage booth at the commencement of the marriage.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow can marry a member of her late husband's section. She may marry his brother, but is not compelled to do so. The ceremony consists in presenting to the widow a robe and bodice, and in tying round her neck a necklace of black glass beads, by her new husband. Should a bachelor desire to marry a widow he is first married to a *shauri* bush. A husband can divorce his wife on the ground of her misconduct. A divorced woman can marry again after the fashion of the widow remarriage ceremony. If a woman is taken in adultery with a caste-man, both are taken to a river bank and the man's face and the woman's head are shaved; and the man is made to give a dinner to the caste-people.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance and belong to the Hindu religion. Some are followers of the Várkari sect. They worship all the Bráhmaṇ gods, but their favourite deities are Bhiroba, Bhawáni, Khandoba, Mhasoba, Vetál, and Yallaṇṇa. They observe all the Hindu holidays and make pilgrimages to Alandi, Pandharpur, Jejuri, Bhimáshankar, or wherever there is likely to be a crowd. They do not ask Bráhmaṇs to officiate at any of their ceremonies. All their ceremonies are conducted by leading men of the caste.

The married dead are burnt, the unmarried being buried in a lying position with head to the north. The bones and ashes are consigned to water. On the fourteenth day after death the flesh of a cock and boiled rice are offered to crows on a *rui* bush. For the propitiation of the deceased ancestors, caste-men are feasted every year on the new moon day of *Bhádrapad*. The *shráddh* is not performed.

Bhántas follow ordinary rural avocations and occasionally the more well-to-do trade in a small way as merchants or sávkárs. Some cultivate land on a large scale and labour in the fields during harvest time. But mostly those who own land rent it to others, not infrequently to the village headman. Some are rich in land and cattle.

Comparatively recently Bhántas have taken to burglary and even robbery, forming gangs of a dozen or more for the purpose. Originally, it seems, Bhántas were pick-pockets pure and simple, fairs and bazars and the like offering a large field for their activities. It was also a rule among them not to commit, on pain of expulsion from the caste, crime between sunset and sunrise. All this is however now altered.

Both sexes are adept at thieving whether on the railway or in crowds, but the women do not travel so much or so far afield as the men.

They eat the usual kind of animal food and also the flesh both of the tame pig and wild boar. They drink liquor to excess. They will eat with or from the hands of those of other castes who are admissible into their own. Instances of intermarriage between Kákádís and Bhántas are not unknown.









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**MONOGRAPH No. 35.**

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**CASTE—AMBIG.**

***LOCALITY—KANARA.***

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## Ambig.

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**AMBIGS** (ಅಂಬಿಗ) or Ambis, from the Sanskrit *ambu* water, numbering 3,458, including 4,800 males and 1,653 females, are chiefly found in the Kánara, Dhárwár, Belgaum, and Bijápur Districts, and the Sávanur State. They are also called Ganginakkalu, that is, children of the *Gangárali*, a river in the Kunta Taluka of the Kánara District, on the bank of which lies their chief settlement. The Ambigs of Belgaum, Dhárwár, and Bijápur seem to have come under the influence of Lingáyatism, inasmuch as they respect Jangams and call them to conduct their ceremonies, but they do not wear the *linga*. They differ from the Ambigs of Kánara in the fact that they have abandoned the totemistic organization which obtains amongst the latter and adopted in its place the more advanced system of *bedagus* or surname groups. The following particulars apply to the Kánara Ambigs

The Kánara Ambigs are split up into exogamous subdivisions known as *balis*, of which the following have been recorded :—

- |                      |     |     |   |
|----------------------|-----|-----|---|
| 1. <i>Anéballi</i>   | ... | ... | ané = elephant.                             |
| ಅನೆಬಲಿ               |     |     |   |
| 2. <i>Gangáballi</i> | ... | ... | <i>Ganga</i> , the river <i>Gangárali</i> . |
| ಗಂಗಾಬಲಿ              |     |     |   |

It is commonly alleged that the members of the *Anéballi* will not allow their women to wear ornaments of ivory, and that they worship the elephant. The *Gangáballi* are accustomed to make offerings to the river *Gangárali*. Members of the *Anéballi* must marry outside that sub-division, and similarly, in the case of members of the *Gangáballi*, marriage must be with members of some other *bali*. These *balis* are therefore truly exogamous.

Ambigs speak Kánarese. The names in common use amongst men are Jeti, Kitna, Timmappa, Durgu, Mhásti, Honnappa, Venka, Manju Badka, and Govind; and among women, Mari, Devi, Sukri, Tanni, Gauri, Homi, Jeti Putti, Sutti, and Mhásti. They have an organization somewhat on the lines of the Hálvakki Vakkal caste for the settlement of caste disputes.

Marriages are prohibited between members of the same *bali*. A man may marry a deceased wife's sister, and brothers may marry sisters. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. Girls are married between nine and twelve, boys between sixteen and twenty.



The offer of betrothal comes from the boy's father, who has to pay a *tera* or bride-price of from Rs. 12 to Rs. 24 to the girl's father. The day for the marriage is fixed by a Havik Brāhman, who conducts the service. Three days before the marriage a party of females from the boy's house go to the girl's house and deck her with flowers, and pay a portion of the bride-price to the girl's father. On the marriage day a marriage coronet is fixed on the boy's head, and he is taken in procession to the bride's house. At the entrance to the marriage booth, water coloured with turmeric powder and lime is waved round his face and his feet are washed. Next, the girl's mother waves lighted lamps round his face. The boy is then led into the booth and seated on a cot, and the girl is presented with a robe, ornaments, and flowers by the boy's father who also pays to her father the remaining portion of the bride-price. The girl is then brought and seated near the boy, their hands are joined and milk is poured on to them by the girl's parents. This is known as the *dhāre* ceremony. They are then led into the house, grains of rice are thrown over their heads, and lighted lamps are waved round their faces. A dinner is held, and the guests retire. On the third day the boy returns to his house with his bride. On the fourth day the marriage coronet is removed from his head and he goes again to the girl's house, where he is treated to a dinner of flesh. From the commencement of marriage up to this time animal food is not used either at the boy's or at the girl's house.

The remarrriage of widows is permitted, but of late greatly discouraged. A husband can divorce a wife on the ground of her misconduct. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Ambigs are Hindus. They worship all village and Brāhmanic gods and *Jalgas* or village guardian spirits and *Mhāstis* or women who have sacrificed themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. The special deity of their devotion is the goddess *Gangāvali* to whoses shrine they make pilgrimages at the festival of the *Gangāshṭami* day. They also make pilgrimages to Tirupati, Gokarn, and Dharmasthal. They observe almost all the Hindu holidays and the festivals of *Haridina* and *Panvār*. Their religious teacher is the head of the Shringeri monastery. Their priests are the Joishi or Havik Brāhmans.

The dead are either burnt or buried. The ordinary funeral rites are observed. On the twelfth day after death a feast is given to the corpse-bearers and caste-people, and crows are fed. At night an exorcist is called to release the spirit of the deceased from the control of the ill-disposed spirit Rahu and to give it over to that of the favourably disposed spirit of Guttu. On the thirtieth day after death a man of the age and sex of the deceased is feasted and crows are fed, when the spirit of the deceased is supposed to have joined the spirits of the other ancestors. This is repeated every thirtieth day during the first twelve months, and after that once a year during the latter half of the month of *Bhādrapad*.

The main occupation of the caste is fishing and ferrying. They are also sailors and palanquin-bearers. Some of them possess their own boats and nets. These take into partnership those who do not possess boats themselves, holding the post of *tindal* or captain and taking an extra share of the produce as hire for their boats and nets. Unlike Khárvis, Harakantras, and Bhois, who throw the circular hand-net from the level of the elbow, Ambigs throw the net from above the head. Some of the men are employed in different branches of Government service as messengers and torch-bearers. The women help the men in making nets and spinning hemp. They also sell fish. Most of the Kárwár Ambigs work as husbandmen and unskilled labourers.

They eat fowls, sheep, goats, tortoises, fish, and most wild animals, except the bison. They drink liquor.

The Ambigs of Dhárwár and Belgaum differ from the Kánára Ambigs in their social organization which is based upon *bedagus* or surnames, and not on totems as in the case of the latter. They are divided into three endogamous divisions: Navilakul, Hanjakul, and Jokumárakul. Marriages are prohibited between members of the same *bedagu*. Members from higher castes are admitted into the caste. The new comer is shaved, the tip of his tongue is branded with burning cotton, and he is made to give a dinner to the caste-people. Girls are married even after they come of age. If a girl commits sexual indiscretions with a caste-man, both are fined and made to give a dinner to the caste-people, and the man is compelled to marry the girl. If the offence is committed with a member of a lower caste, the girl is excommunicated. The offer of marriage is made by the boy's father who has to pay a *teru* or bride-price up to Rs. 42 to the girl's father. First, the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric paste, and bathed at the boy's house. Next, the *devakárya* is performed in which earthen jars are brought from a potter's, food is offered to the family god, and caste-men are feasted. On the marriage day the boy and the girl are bathed with water contained in the jars and taken in procession on a bullock's back to a temple. On returning home, rice grains are thrown over their heads and a lucky necklace is tied round the girl's neck. A feast to the caste-people ends the ceremony. The family deities of the caste are Basáppa, Udebava, and Yeilava. Images of deceased ancestors are made and worshipped. Their marriages are conducted by Bráhmans, and widow remarriages and death ceremonies by Lingáyat priests. The dead are either burnt or buried. On the third or fifth day after death rice balls are offered to crows, and caste-men are feasted. In addition to fishing and ferrying, some weave, and others work as domestic servants.







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**MONOGRAPH No. 36.**

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**CASTE—HALLEER.**

***LOCALITY—KANARA.***

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## Halleer.

HALLEERS (ಹಳ್ಳೇರ), numbering 2,073 (1901), including 1,078 males and 1,001 females, are found entirely in the Kánara District. According to local tradition, when the Sonda chiefs were reigning at Panjim in Goa, the Halleers were their musicians and lived in the village of Kuppali. Originally they are believed to have emigrated from Tirupati in North Arcot. They came to Kánara about eight or ten generations ago and settled at Majjáli, and Bád near Kárwár, gradually spreading southwards as far as Honávar. The Halleers in Kárwár style themselves Vájantris, the general term for musicians, and refuse to have any connection with their brethren in Gokarn, Hiregutti, and Hegde. These so-called Vájantris declare that the rest of the Halleers rank with the impure castes, and are not allowed to play at temples and at the thread or marriage ceremonies of Bráhmans, being employed only by the lower castes. According to the Bombay Gazetteer, all Halleers are held to be impure, and it is probable that the Kárwár Halleers are now endeavouring to raise themselves to a level with other musicians not considered impure, by imitating their manners and customs, and disclaiming connection with their brethren in the south. The latter apparently have not yet adopted the usages of the higher castes.

There are neither endogamous nor exogamous sub-divisions of the caste. Inter-marriages can take place between those families only with whom a former connection can be traced. A member of the caste may marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. A man may marry his deceased wife's sister. Two brothers are not allowed to marry two sisters. Polygamy is allowed and practised, the number of wives a man can have at a time being limited to four. Polyandry is unknown. Boys are generally married between fifteen and twenty-five; girls between eight and thirteen, as a rule before coming of age. If a girl remains unmarried till after she attains puberty, her parents have to pay a fine to the caste *punch*. Such a girl can be married to a widower only. Misconduct on the part of an unmarried girl is generally connived at; but if the man involved be a Christian or a Musalmán, she is turned out of the caste.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father, who has to pay a sum of Rs. 5 to the girl's mother. The day for the marriage is fixed by the village astrologer. The ceremony is conducted either by a Joishi Bráhmán or by an elderly member of the caste. About

eight or ten days before the marriage takes place the betrothal ceremony, which is known as *phule khovane*, is performed, in which the girl is dressed in a new robe and her hair decked with flowers. On the marriage day the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric paste and oil, a marriage coronet is put on the boy's head, and he is taken in procession to the girl's house. When he is seated, rice grains, a cocoanut, and five plantains are offered to each of the village gods and to the family gods of the parties. The boy's father then presents the girl with some articles of dress and ornaments which she puts on and seats herself next to the bridegroom. The pair then put garlands round one another's necks. The essential portion of the ceremony consists in the decking of the girl's hair with flowers.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. The widow has to return to the relations of her deceased husband the clothes and ornaments received from him. The widow bathes and puts on a new robe presented to her by her new husband. She is then seated by his side, red-powder is applied to her forehead, and a lucky necklace is tied round her neck, this completing the ceremony. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow.

A husband can divorce a wife on the ground of her misconduct. A wife can divorce a husband if he ill-treats her. A divorced woman can marry again after the fashion of the widow remarriage ceremony.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance and belong to the Hindu religion. They chiefly worship village gods, such as Vetāl, Dād, Beer, and Mhasti, the special object of their devotion being Māmāi or Mahāmāi whose fane is at Chitakule near Sadāshivgad to the north of Kārwar. Their family gods are Mahādev of Bād in Kārwar, Venkatesh of Ankola, and Saikārddev of Mājāli, nine miles north of Kārwar. They worship their musical instruments on the Dasara day. Goats and fowls are offered to the village gods, of which the heads are received by the worshippers at the temples, and the bodies by those who make the offerings. They make pilgrimages to Tirupati and Pandharpur, and observe all the Hindu holidays. They have great faith in soothsaying, witchcraft, and evil spirits. Sickness of all kinds is believed to be the work of spirits. Ghādi and Komārpaik magicians are consulted to devise a cure. Their spiritual guide is the head of the Shringeri monastery at Mysore. Their ceremonies are usually conducted by members of the caste. Occasionally Joishi Brāhmanas are employed to conduct marriages, and they are considered degraded on this account. They are readmitted into their caste only after performing a penance.

The dead are either burnt or buried. On the tenth day after death a sweet basil plant is planted on the spot where the corpse was burnt or buried; and a tender cocoanut, a lamp, and a flag of cotton-rag are placed by its side. On the eleventh day a feast is given to relations. The *shrāddh* is not performed.

Halleers are hereditary musicians. They are employed by many classes of Hindus at marriage and other ceremonies. The Halleers near Gokarn appear to be employed chiefly by the lower castes. They have an hereditary right to perform at the village temples. Their instruments are the drum or *dhol*, double drum or *sammel*, the timbrel or *kinsil*, the clarionet or *sunai*, the brass horn or *shruti*, the cornet or *kahalo*, and the horn or *shing*. A few of them are carpenters. They catch fish for their own use. They do not catch crocodiles or tortoises.

They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, hares, fowls, and fish, and drink liquor. They eat the leavings of Bráhmans. They consider themselves superior to those who eat certain kinds of flesh from which they abstain.







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**CASTE — BAKAD.**

*LOCALITY — KANARA.*

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## Bakad.

BĀ'KADS (ಬಾಕಡ) or Bākadigs, numbering 442 (1901), including 218 males and 224 females, are found only at Ankola in the Kánara district. According to the Bombay Gazetteer the word *bákad* is said to come from the Hindustáni *bák* a crop estimate, because their wages are paid in grain and not in cash. But it seems probable that the caste is an out-caste section of the Bánts, recruited to a certain extent from other castes also. Thus the exogamous divisions are known as

- |             |                    |
|-------------|--------------------|
| 1. Konkan.  | 4. Kare Vakkal.    |
| 2. Jain.    | 5. Sheragi Vakkal. |
| 3. Kunbi.   | 6. Bánt.           |
| 7. Marátha. |                    |

which suggest recruitment from the castes so-named. They call themselves Bánts, a Kanarese term for warriors, and state that they came from Bantvál, a village near Mangalore, and that they were once Bánts, the chief middle class or *Shudra* husbandmen in South Kanara, and that they were put out of caste and have no intercourse with the parent stock.

There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. They are divided into the exogamous sub-divisions already mentioned. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown. Girls are married from the age of five till after they attain puberty, boys between sixteen and twenty-five. They practise the *dhare* ceremony at marriage. The remarriage of widows is permitted. A husband can divorce a wife on the ground of her misconduct. A divorced woman is allowed to remarry. The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance.

Bákads are Hindus. They worship all village gods and goddesses and the ancestral cocoanuts. The object of their special devotion is Venkatarama of Tirupati where they go on pilgrimage. Their chief holidays are *Shimga*, *Dasra* and *Bhád* or car festivals. They have great faith in soothsaying and witchcraft. When an epidemic breaks out goats, fowls and he-buffaloes are offered to Mareyamma. Their priests are Havik Brahmans. The dead are either burnt or buried. Their ceremonies are similar to those of the Komárpaiks. Those who have died of small-pox, leprosy and cholera are buried. Male children on whom the hair-cutting ceremony is not performed are buried. Female children are buried up to the age of five. At burial the corpse is laid with head to the south. The ashes of the burnt are collected and thrown in the sea or a river on the 3rd or 9th day after death. Then the chief mourner bathes, cooks rice, and making three balls of the cooked rice places them on a tender coconut. Next, three flags, one yellow, one black and one white, are erected in front of the balls, and plantains and betel leaves are offered to them. Then a jar is filled with water, three holes are made in it, it is placed near the balls, and

the chief mourner returns home without looking behind his back. The ceremonial impurity expires on the eleventh day. On the twelfth day a man of the caste is presented with articles of dress, a sickle and a dining plate; and a feast is given to the caste people. They are chiefly husbandmen. They eat flesh and drink liquor. They rank with Kotegars and Mukris. Until recently they were known as Hole-bákads or impure *Bákads*, whose touch was considered to defile.





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**CASTE—BAGDI.**

*LOCALITY—KOLHAPUR STATE.*

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## Bagdis.

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BAGDIS (वागडी), numbering 1,324 (1901), including 734 males and 590 females, are a wandering caste with head-quarters in the Kolhápúr State, from whence they range over the adjoining districts of Sátára, Ratnágiri, Poona, Belgaum, and the States of the Southern Marátha Country. They describe themselves as Kolis, whom they much resemble; and it is probable that originally they were Mahádev Kolis of the Western Gháts. Their present occupation is blanket-weaving, fishing, and begging, and the women are of irregular habits. The Koli origin of the caste seems to be indicated by their tradition that they are descended from Válmiiki, a hill Koli, before his advance to Bráhmaṇic rank. The head-quarters of the caste are in Bángṛal. There are no endogamous divisions of the caste. The exogamous sections, which are identical with surnames, are Gálpháde, Rasankute, Karande, Bhole, Chaván, Singan, Garad, Sásane, Maráthe, Garane, Sálve, Ambale, More, and Changule. Persons bearing the same surname cannot intermarry. Sameness of *devak* or marriage guardian is no bar to intermarriage. A member of the caste may marry his father's sister's or mother's brother's daughter. He cannot marry his mother's sister's daughter. A man may marry two sisters, and two brothers may marry two sisters.

Marriage is both infant as well as adult. If a girl commits sexual indiscretions with a caste-man she is either fined Rs. 7½ or made to give a dinner to the caste-people. She and the offender are then purified by ashes being put into their mouths. If the man involved belong to a lower caste, the girl is excommunicated. Irregular behaviour on the part of the women, however, seems generally connived at, and is a source of profit to the caste. Polygamy is allowed and practised, but polyandry is unknown.

The offer of marriage comes from the boy's father, who has to pay a bride-price of from Rs. 12 to Rs. 25 to the girl's father. The day for the marriage is fixed by a Bráhmaṇ who conducts the service. The betrothal, which is known as *sákarpuḍa* or *mágni*, takes place at the girl's house in the presence of the leading caste-men, when redpowder is applied to the girl's forehead, her lap is filled, and a packet of sweetmeats is given into her hand by one of the boy's party. A feast to all assembled ends the ceremony. Three or four days before the marriage, the boy and the girl are rubbed with turmeric paste and oil at their respective houses. They are then bathed, marriage garlands are tied round their heads, and a weapon like a dagger with a yellow piece of cloth tied to its handle is given into the boy's hand, with which he must not part before the end of the marriage. The

*devak* is installed on the marriage day after the fashion of the Kunbis, both at the boy's and the girl's house. It consists of the *punchpálvi*, or leaves of five kinds of trees, viz., mango, *unbar* (*Ficus glomerata*), *shami* (*Prosopis spicigera*), *pipal* (*Ficus religiosa*), and *pipri* (*Ficus tsiela*). In some places the leaves of the *ru* (*Calotropis gigantea*) and *jámbohul* (*Eugenia jambolana*) are also used. In the evening the bridegroom is taken in procession to the girl's village and seated in the temple of *Máruṭi*. He is received there by a party from the bride's house; a turban is presented to him, and he is taken to the girl's house. He is made to stand in the marriage booth with face to the east; the girl is brought and made to stand in front of him; a cloth is held between them, marriage verses are repeated, and the cloth is removed. Next, the pair are seated on two low wooden stools, and a *kankan* or marriage wristlet is fastened round the right wrist of the boy and the left wrist of the girl. The *kanyádán*, or handing over of the bride, is then performed, in which water is poured on the bridegroom's hands (i. e., the *dhare* ceremony) by the bride's parents and a rupee is paid to the bride's mother by the bridegroom. A dinner to the caste-people brings the marriage ceremonies to an end.

The remarriage of widows is permitted. A widow can marry her father's sister's or mother's brother's son. She cannot marry her mother's sister's son or a member belonging to her late husband's section. A widow remarriage can be celebrated on any dark night except the new-moon day, during any month of the year except *Bhādrapad*. A Bráhmaṇ priest and leading members of the caste are present on the occasion. Unwidowed women are not allowed to attend the ceremony. The widow and her new husband are seated on a blanket or on two low wooden stools. The widow is presented with a robe, a bodice, glass bangles, and toe ornaments which she puts on. Redpowder is applied to her forehead by the Bráhmaṇ priest. A pot covered with half a dry coconut kernel containing a betelnut is worshipped by the pair, and the Bráhmaṇ priest brings the pot into close contact with their heads. The widow's lap is then filled with wheat, betelnuts, turmeric roots, and dry coconut kernel, the ends of the pair's garments are tied into a knot, and they are made to utter one another's names, which completes the ceremony. In some places the tying of the ends of the pair's garments is the only ceremony performed after redpowder is applied to the widow's forehead. On the Poona side a bachelor is allowed to marry a widow after he has first married a *shami* bush. In Sátára and other places a bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow.

A husband can divorce a wife if he cannot agree with her or if her conduct is bad, by paying Rs. 7 to the caste-panch. The amount is spent on a dinner to the caste-people. A divorced woman can marry again after the fashion of the widow remarriage ceremony. A woman taken in adultery with a member of a lower caste is put out of the caste.

The caste follow the Hindu law of inheritance and belong to the Hindu religion. They worship all Bráhmaṇic gods, but the chief

object of their worship is Mhasoba, whom they regard as their family god. They also worship Khandoba, Shidoba, Jákshái, Jokhái, and other minor gods. They worship their implements of work on the *Dasara* day, when a goat is killed and eaten. Images of deceased ancestors embossed on silver plates are installed and worshipped on holidays and on marriage and other festive occasions, when a goat is killed and caste-men are feasted. Every year in the latter half of the month of *A'shúdh* a goat is offered to Mariái or the cholera goddess, and a *gondhal* dance is performed by every family of the caste. When an epidemic breaks out, the deity supposed to preside over the disease is propitiated with offerings of cooked food. They observe all the Hindu holidays, but rarely go on pilgrimages. Their priests are Bráhmans who are received on terms of equality by other Bráhmans.

Those who can afford it burn the dead, the rest bury. The unmarried dead, persons dying of leprosy, and children up to ten years old must be buried. At burial the corpse is seated with face to the east. The bones and ashes of those burnt are consigned to water. A stone is fixed on the spot where a corpse is buried. On the twelfth or thirteenth day after death the caste-men are feasted.

The hereditary occupation of the caste is weaving blankets and fishing. They also beg and tell fortunes. Of late a few have taken to agriculture. They are day labourers and are paid either in cash or in grain. They do not catch crocodiles or tortoises.

They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, doves, hares, and fish, and drink liquor. They eat the leavings of the higher castes.









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BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## BEDAS.

The Bédas ಬೇಡರು called Bóyi ಬೋಯಿ in Telugu and Védan ವೇಡನ್ in Tamil number according to the latest Census 244,990, comprising 123,345 males and 121,645 females. Of these about three-tenths are in the Chitaldrug District and three-tenths in the Kolar and Tunkur Districts together, the rest being in the remaining five districts. Number.

The name *Náyaka* (ನಾಯಕ) chief) or *Náyakanamakkaṭu* (ನಾಯಕನ ಮಕ್ಕಳು chief's children) is sometimes applied to this caste. They also style themselves as the members of Valmiki's family or members of Kannayya's caste. *Ṭurikara* (ಗುರಿಕಾರ a marksmen) and *Kirata* (ಕಿರಾತ the cruel) are often given as their nicknames. Names.

*Béda* (ಬೇಡ) sometimes written *Biḡada* (ಬಿಬಿದ) is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *Vyáḍha* (ವ್ಯಾಢ) meaning a hunter and shows what the original occupation of the caste was. They call themselves in Telugu *Dora-biḡadaṭu* (king's children) and occasionally as *Páḷyegars*, the latter appellation being appropriated as many of these who gathered a larger band of predatory followers than usual around them, succeeded in setting themselves up in the troublous days of the common dissolution of authority during the two or three centuries preceding the last, as Palyegars or chiefs of a *Palga* (ಪಾಲ್ಗು) or a settlement.

The connection with Valmiki is founded on a tradition that the great author of the epic Ramayana was of this caste before his conversion. He was a highway robber of more than usual rapacity, and when he attacked the Sage Vasishṭa, the latter showed him the sin of his bad life and proved its worthlessness even in a worldly sense, when his own wife for whom he had been undergoing all this risk, declined to share the accountability



for his sins. The man was so ignorant that he could not pronounce the holy name of Rama and the teacher had to adopt the expedient of making him repeat *maru* (a tree in Kannada) in rapid succession, to make him meditate about *Rama*. As a result of his long meditation, the repenting hunter and robber got divine wisdom, and was able to compose the grand epic that has obtained such renown in the world. He subsequently had twelve sons who are claimed to be the progenitors of the present caste. It is hardly necessary to add that all this has no support in the Ramayana itself. Perhaps its germ is to be found in the statement therein, that, being induced by Nārada and Brahma to compose the immortal epic, the Rishi Valmiki threw himself into *Yoga-Samādhi*, when all the facts of Rama's earthly career became as clear to him as a fruit held in his palm of his hand, and enabled him to compass his end.

Another ingenious explanation is given of the term Vālmīkaru as applied to Bedas, which says that they are so called because during the first rains of the year they dig ant-hills, take out winged ants therein and eat them.

#### Origin and history.

As some of the names of the caste unmistakably indicate, the Bédas were originally a wild tribe living in jungles and mountains and supporting themselves by hunting. They used to infest the highways for robbery and were considered fit instruments for all acts of rapine and cruelty. Hence they were known as *Kirātas* (ಕಿರಾತ the cruel). A story of Kannayya, an eponymous leader of this caste, is of some significance as showing the original occupation of the caste or at any rate its ideal. He was a devotee of Siva and was finding fault with the usual form of worship in which the worshipper placed a dish of food before his god but subsequently ate it himself. When, in order to test him, God Siva surprised him in an inaccessible jungle in the guise of a hungry guest and asked for food, he was offered some meat of an animal killed in the jungle, and when after a while the guest was in danger of losing an eye from disease, Kannayya plucked out his own and offered to replace the poor wayfarer's lost organ. Siva was of course gratified and offered the devotee some boon. But he was quite content with his lot and would have none of it. He had all that he wanted, a gruel in an earthen pot, children round a common earthen eating plate, a burning faggot for light and a highway for robbery, what more needed he?

Their early habits well fitted them for the army of which in later times they became a most important element. They were largely employed in the rank and file of the armies of Vijianagar Empire. They gradually spread to the south, and by the time of Hyder Ali, they not only constituted the pick of his army, but many of the caste had set themselves up as petty chiefs known as Palyegars who had also men of the same caste in their armies. Buchanan writing in 1800 says of them :—

Throughout these hills (*near Magadi, Bangalore District*), which extend northward from *Capaladurga*, are many cultivated spots in which during *Tippoo's* government were settled many *Bagdaru* or hunters who received twelve *pagulas* (£4-5s) a year and served as irregular troops whenever required. Being accustomed to pursue tigers and deer in the woods, they were excellent marksmen with their matchlocks, and indefatigable in following their prey ; which in the time of war, was the life and property of every helpless creature that came in their way. During the wars of *Hyder* and his son, these men were chief instruments in the terrible depredations committed in the lower Carnatic. They were also frequently employed with success against the *Polygars*, whose followers were men of a similar description. At present, as they receive no pay, they are obliged to apply more closely to agriculture ; for in that way they always employed their leisure ; and there is a prospect of their becoming a quiet and industrious people although they still retain their arms and an anxious desire for plunder.

With the advent of more peaceful times, this expectation about the habits and occupation of these people has been fully realized. Many of them are employed as village watchmen or *Talaris*, and also find employment as peons in the Police and Revenue Departments of Government.

They seem to be originally a Telugu speaking people, but after long settlement, those of the Kannada districts have adopted that language as their mother tongue. Language.

The following endogamous divisions are found in the caste :— Endogamous divisions.

*Ūru Bédas* (ಉರು ಬೇಡರು) called in Telugu, *Chinna Boyis* (ಚಿನ್ನ ಬೋಯಿ ವಾಂಡ್ಲು).

*Myāsa Bédas* (ಮ್ಯಾಸ ಬೇಡರು) Sometimes called *Pedda Boyis* (ಪೆದ್ದ ಬೋಯಿ ವಾಂಡ್ಲು) and *Chenchūis* (ಚಂಚುಲು).

*Gudisi* or *gudlu Bédas* (ಗುಡು ಬೇಡರು) called also *ಗುಂತಬೋಯಿ ವಾಂಡ್ಲು* and nicknamed (ಅಡ್ಡ ಚೇತೈಲವಾಳ್ಳು) (cross-handed).

*Māremmana Bédas* (ಮಾರೆಮ್ಮನೆ ಬೇಡರು) also called *Mutyāllamma* or *Urume Bédas* (ಮುತ್ತಾಲಮ್ಮ ಅಥವಾ ಉರುಮೆ ಬೇಡರು) and *Sadaru Bédas* (ಸದರ ಬೇಡರು).

*Hālu Bēdas* (ಹಾಲು ಬೇಡರು).

*Monda Bēdas* (ಮೊಂಡ ಬೇಡರು).

There are a few more divisions such as those named *Ba-rika* (ಬಾರಿಕ), *Goliga* (ಗೋಲಿಗ), *Gaddalabala* (ಗದ್ದಲಬಾಲ), *Muddalu* (ಮುದ್ದಲು) and *Palra* (ಪಟ್ಟ) which are returned as endogamous.

It is, however, probable that they are nothing but synonyms of one or another of the divisions already mentioned.

Uru Bedas are by far the largest division of the caste, and are so called because of their residence in towns and villages, unlike, for example, Monda Bedas, a wandering tribe, who are beggars by profession.

Myasa Bedas are found mostly in the Chitaldrug District. They profess to derive their name from *mesha* (ಮೇಷ), a goat, the name of the first sign of the Zodiac, Aries. They form an interesting division and have some peculiar customs such as circumcision, and abstaining from eating fowls and pigs. They lived mostly in jungles till recently; many have since taken to living in towns and villages. It deserves to be ascertained how far their customs have been moulded by Mussulman influences. They seem to be the same as the forest tribe known as Chenchus.

Gudisi or gudlu Bedas (ಗುಡಿಸಿ, ಗುಡ್ಲು ಬೇಡರು) are so called on account of their living in *gudlu* or temporary huts. They are an inferior division.

The significance of the term Sadara Bēda could not be ascertained. The appellation of Hālu Bēdas (*i.e.* milk Bedas) is used to indicate their superiority to other divisions.

Monda\* Bedas are said to be the descendants of a man of the Mandala (ಮಂಡಲ) exogamous section, who through ignorance married a girl of the same section. This was discovered too late and the couple were expelled from the village and were made to live outside,—eking out their living by beggary. Even now persons of this division never enter the houses of the other Bedas, and they are not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section.

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\* Monda (ಮೊಂಡ) means in Kannada, an indolent or rude or obstinate fellow

The caste is divided into a number of exogamous divisions, and their integrity is kept up with the utmost scrupulousness. The tradition regarding the origin of these divisions is as follows :—

Exogamous divisions.

The descendants of *Valmiki* by his twelve sons fell out with one another and had a fight amongst themselves, in the course of which many lives were lost. The eldest of these sons called Mandala-Manibattu-Razu (ಮಂಡಲಮನಿಬತ್ತು ರಾಜು) hearing of the carnage, went to the scene of the quarrel to reprimand them. The combatants were afraid of meeting him and fleeing from the place hid themselves in various places. After a search they were discovered, some hiding under washerman's tubs, some in ant-hills, some in hills and such other places. The chief divided them into separate groups, distinguished each by the hiding place of its representatives, himself becoming the head of the Manda division. Even now on marriage and other occasions, a *tāmbula* is given in the name of Mandalamani-battu Razu and sometimes in that of his servant also who belonged to the Ankila section. Some of the exogamous divisions are named in the appendix.

There are said to be altogether 101 such divisions, but the names of all of them could not be ascertained. Most of them are apparently totemistic and as usual bear the names of plants and animals. But except in a few instances,—not however, quite authenticated, no special regard seems to be paid to the particular *totems* in any respect.

There are no hypergamous divisions.

The names of children are generally taken either from those of their household gods or of their ancestors. In some families on the 5th or the 7th day of the birth of a child, an elderly woman consults a Koramma woman, professing to be a soothsayer, as to the name to be given to the child. The Koramma woman, after consulting her signs in her usual manner, gives out the name, which generally happens to be the name of the family god or of an ancestor of the child's parents. Only one name is given; but sometimes an additional name is tacked on just before marriage if a match otherwise agreeable to all parties, is found not to answer the tests of astrological calculation.

Superstitions in names.

There are no names specially appropriated by this caste; the following are given as examples of common names occurring therein :—

| Male                     | Female                    |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Kadiriga</i> (ಕದಿರಿಗ) | <i>Kadiri</i> (ಕದಿರಿ)     |
| <i>Sanjiva</i> (ಸಂಜೀವ)   | <i>Sanjivi</i> (ಸಂಜೀವಿ)   |
| <i>Māra</i> (ಮಾರ)        | <i>Bommi</i> (ಬೊಮ್ಮಿ)     |
| <i>Bōra</i> (ಬೋರ)        | <i>O'bi</i> (ಒಬಿ)         |
| <i>Nāga</i> (ನಾಗ)        | <i>Yerri</i> (ಯರಿ)        |
| <i>Konda</i> (ಕೊಂಡ)      | <i>Chaudamma</i> (ಚೌಡಮ್ಮ) |

Nicknames are given either to denote occupation or to describe size and appearance, such as *Avula Vādu* a cowherd; *Goruloḍu* (ಗೊರಲೋಡು) sheep tender; *Chevvuloḍu* (ಚವುಲೋಡು) long eared; *Mōtodu* (ಮೋಟೋಡು) dwarf.

A child born after the parents have successively lost a number of children in childhood, is thrown on a manure heap placed on a sieve and taken back. Sometimes it is thrown on its face. Its right nostril is bored and a nose screw put on.

Names like the following are given to such children :—*Tippa* (ತಿಪ್ಪ); *Tippi* (ತಿಪ್ಪಿ) a manure heap; *Bārli* (ಬಾರ್ಲಿ) *Bārli* (ಬಾರ್ಲಿ) thrown on the face; *Gunda* (ಗುಂಡ) *Gundi* (ಗುಂಡಿ) round stone; *Pullākuloḍu* (ಪುಲ್ಲಾಕುಲೋಡು) thrown-out leaves; *Paradēs'i* (ಪರದೇಸಿ) foreigner; *Pāresi* (ಪಾರೇಸಿ) one cast out; *Adari* (ಅಡರಿ) jungle; *Kalla* (ಕಲ್ಲ) stone; *Gidaga* (ಗಿಡಗ) hawk; *Kaṭiga* (ಕಾಟಗ) a man of the desert; *Javarāya* (ಜವರಾಯ) or Yama, the god of death; *Sachchēḍu* (ಸಚ್ಚೇಂಡು) one likely to die.

When an unusual number of girls are born in succession, the last born child is given the name of *Santamma* (ಶಾಂತಮ್ಮ) or *Sakamma* (ಸಾಕಮ್ಮ), these names meaning that the female children are enough and are no more needed. The belief is that thereafter no female children would be born, and if the mother gives birth to any children at all, they would all be male ones. The saying is “ಸಾಕು ಸಾಕು ಶಾಂತಮ್ಮ ಬೇಕು ಬೇಕು ಬೆನವಣ್ಣ” which means that *Santammas* (denoting female children) are enough and *Benavannas* (standing for males) are wanted.

#### Marriage.

Polygamy is allowed though as a matter of fact, it is rarely resorted to except when such reasons as barrenness, or incurable disease, of the first wife exist. Polyandry is unknown.

A marriage is either regular or irregular, the latter is held somewhat in lower repute and is variously known as *Kudike* (കുടിക union), *Sirudike* (സിറുടിക, the giving of a woman's garment as a present by the man).

Marriage in the section to which either one's own mother, paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother belongs, is allowed, provided this section is different from that of the person. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the boy and the girl should not be related to each other either by affinity or by analogy as brother and sister or parent and child. Two sisters may be married by one man, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is sanctioned, but one may marry a younger sister's daughter only when inevitable, as when a widower cannot procure any other girl to marry. A sister's daughter may be married to a man's son, in which case the man himself cannot marry another daughter of the same sister.

Marriage is generally of adults, though infants are often so united. A woman may remain without marriage all through her life, though few or none do so by choice. A woman dying without marriage is carried by men without a bier and interred with the face downwards, no funeral ceremonies being observed.

The negotiations for a regular marriage are carried on by the parents or guardians of the parties, the initiative being generally taken by the male's side. The astrologer is consulted and where the horoscopes are wanting, the stars corresponding to the first letters of the names of the parties according to a settled convention, are taken as representing the nativity of the parties. If they are pronounced to be suitable, a day is fixed by him and the contracting parties exchange betel-leaves with nuts as an earnest of their agreement, in the presence of the elders. The girl is given a present of a cloth and a feast is generally held. After this the girl cannot be given in marriage to another without the consent of the other party. This preliminary event is however non-essential and is often omitted or considerably shortened. Ceremonies of marriage.

The ceremonies of marriage proper begin with *Devar-uta* or god's feast. Five new earthen pots painted red and white are brought from the potter's house and some date fruits, uncooked rice, and *dhall*, glass bangles and some other articles are placed in each of them, with an oil light in

each of the earthen dishes covering them as lids. These pots with a *kalasa* (i.e. a small metallic vessel with a cocoanut over it) are placed in a room set apart for the purpose and worshipped as representing the marriage deity. A dinner also is given, sheep or goats being specially killed for the occasion.

On the second day, *chappara* or marriage booth is constructed. This should have twelve posts of which one is called the *milk post* or marriage pillar and should be green wood of the mango or *Hilaria* tree. In the night, the bride's party repair to a place outside the town, where on a spot washed with cowdung water, they place cooked food on three plantain leaves as an offering, and consecrate it with water dyed red with saffron and lime, and return home without looking back.

On the third day, the bride and bridegroom are bathed in their respective houses. They are seated on plank seats and are besmeared with saffron, and the ceremony is known as ಅರಣಿ ಪಾಸ್ಟ್ರ or the saffron ceremony or ಮದವಣಿಗೆ ಪಾಸ್ಟ್ರ or bride or bridegroom ceremony.

The fourth is the chief day of the ceremony. Early in the morning the bridegroom is brought to the bride's house. He is made to sit by the side of the bride. The village barber comes and pares the nails of the bride and bridegroom. Then the couple are given a bath called *matē nru* in Kannada and *tōlu nūḷu* in Telugu. They stand one stooping over the other, and some married women pour water from four vessels. After this the bridegroom is sent out with a party to a place outside the village and sits under a tree. From there a procession of the people of his party go to the bride's house, taking with them in a bamboo box jewels and cloths intended for her and other sundry articles such as rice, fruit and other edible articles, which they present to the bride. Then her party go in procession led by a married woman carrying a *kalasa* in her hand. They in their turn bring to the bridegroom cloths, toe-rings, *blashinga* or the marriage coronet and other presents. The bridegroom puts on all these things and holding a dagger is taken to the marriage booth. The two parties meet near the marriage pavilions and a show of resistance is offered by each party throwing half-pounded rice (called ಎದುರೆಕ್ಕಿ) at the other. The bridegroom is conducted to the marriage dais and is made to stand there. In the meantime the bride is

decorated and is brought to the pandal with the *bhāshinga* and placed standing opposite the bridegroom with a cloth held as a screen between them. The *Purohit* is then called in, and the bride and bridegroom throw on each other's head some cummin seed and jaggory, the girl if small in stature being held up by her maternal uncle or other near relative.

The *tali*\* is touched by all those present, and the bridegroom with the countenance and blessing of the men assembled, ties it round the neck of the bride. Both the bride and the bridegroom tie the *kankana*† to their wrists and stand facing each other. Their hands are joined together and hold a coconut on which milk is poured first by the parents of the bride, and then by those of the bridegroom, and then by the whole assembly.

The married couple then sit side by side with the fringes of their cloths tied together. Some elderly married women besmear them with saffron and put over them *sese*, that is rice from both their hands first on the knees, then on the shoulders and then on the heads of the happy couple. The assembly then disperses after the distribution of *Pan-supari*.

In the evening the couple are shown the star called Arundhati.‡

Another ceremony that takes place that day, is that of partaking of *वसु* or common meal. Two or three persons from both sides sit together and eat food from a common dish to indicate the union of both the parties.

On the last day called the *Nagavali* day, the *kankana* or wrist thread is taken off and *puja* is made to what is called *Simhasana* (or seat) and to a heap of arecanut and betel-leaves and the latter articles distributed to the assembly. A certain order is observed in *tambuli*-giving: Kannayya (the eponymous hero), Valmiki and the household deity are named first and then the local caste head (*Katte Mane Yajaman*) and the convener (or headle), and then the others of the assembly get the leaves in turn.

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\* The small gold disc worn by a married woman as a symbol of the married state.

† This is a twisted thread of black and white wool, with a turmeric root and an iron-ring tied to it.

‡ Arundhati is the wife of Vasishtha, the sage, and is believed to be in the constellation of stars known as the Great Bear.



The next two days are employed in complimentary visits and feasting among the two parties.

#### Expenses.

The bride's price or *tera* in Kannada, and *oli* (ಒಲಿ) in Telugu, is Rs. 12. But a discount of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. is allowed if asked for, except when a widower marries a maid, when the full amount of *tera* namely Rs. 12, and sometimes even a *Mādu* (ಮಾಡು) of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rs. more is levied.

Marriage expenses in a family of moderate means amount to the bride's party to Rs. 30 ; the bridegroom's party incur about Rs. 100, to be spent on jewels, *tera* and feeding expenses. There is no particular feeling that the present expenditure is in any way exorbitant ; and no movement in favor of reduction is discernible or indeed called for.

#### Puberty.

When a girl first shows signs of womanhood, she is considered impure for three days, and does not come in contact with the other members of the family. She cannot use the metal plate for eating her meal which is placed on leaves for her. She bathes on the fourth day and the washerman supplies her with a fresh washed cloth. A shed of green leaves (generally of Margosa), is put up on an auspicious day, in which the girl remains apart for three nights getting a particularly rich food consisting of cocoanut, gingelly, pulses and jaggory, the while. She is exhibited in the evenings seated, dressed and decorated, in the company of married women who congregate for the show. Songs are sung and saffron and *kunkuma* and *pan-supari* are distributed to all the visitors. During this period the girl is kept awake at nights and is allowed to sleep only in day time, for fear that some evil spirit (which prowls about only in the dark) might take hold of her.

Intimation of the event is sent by the village washerman to the parents of the husband of such girl if she is already married, and it is considered the correct thing for the husband and wife beginning to live together within sixteen days. If the girl should happen to be unmarried, they try to get her married within the year of her attaining this age. They have a saying that a third head should not appear in the year of marriage, and so where the girl that is married is already of an age to live in her husband's company, the common living is put off for at least three months.

Widow marriage is allowed and generally practised but the form differs considerably from the regular marriage, and is styled union or *kudike* or the giving of a cloth to wear (ಕರಲಡಿಕ್) or the tying of a tali. Widow marriage.

The ceremony is simple and generally comes off in the evening. The match as may be expected is as a rule settled by the consent of the parties and in most cases is preceded by a *de facto* union. The head and others of the caste assemble in front of the woman's house who comes out after having had a bath. The new husband presents her with a new cloth which she puts on. The Yajman to whom their intention is formally announced gives his sanction to the union. Thereafter the husband ties the *tali* which is the essential and the binding portion of the ceremony. A fine called *Kannayyana Kanike* (ಕನ್ನಯ್ಯನ ಕಾಣಿಕೆ) is levied from the man. *Pan-supari* is distributed and a feast is held afterwards. The same form is observed in the case of divorced women remarrying, and of an unmarried girl who has clandestinely conceived being married to her lover; sometimes this form is also resorted to in preference to the more regular one to save expense.

A woman married in this form has certain disabilities. She is not allowed to take part in the ceremonies of a regular marriage and is not, allowed even to enter the marriage *pandal*. She cannot carry the *kalasa* on any auspicious day. Her issue for two or three generations at least are deprived of the privileges of regular marriage. The *kudike* marriage section is kept separate, and in some places becomes so defined that these disabilities continue to attach to it for generations together.

With regard to the right of inheritance, as soon as a widow is remarried, she becomes divested of her rights to the previous husband's property and even her children continue in his family. This is of course compensated for by the acquisition of title to her second husband's property.

A widow cannot marry any one belonging to her first husband's *gotra* or division; much less therefore his elder or younger brother.

Loss of caste and adultery are good grounds for divorce. Divorce. The aggrieved party, generally the husband, complains to the caste Yajman regarding the conduct of his partner and obtains his sanction for divorce in

the caste assembly who fully enter into the details and find out which party is to blame. If the charge is made out against the wife, the husband tears her *tali* in token of separation and gets back the jewels which he might have given her during their conjugal life. He has to pay a fine to the caste.

The woman thus divorced is married in *kudlike* form, to another (generally her paramour) who pays to the previous husband, the *tera* amount and the expenses of the marriage, and has also to pay a fine to the caste and stand the expense of feeding the castemen. It is said that adultery on the part of the husband is also a good reason for divorce and the husband in this case gets back neither the *tera* amount nor the marriage expenses.

#### Adultery.

If the married woman is guilty of adultery with a man of the same or a higher caste it can be expiated for at the option of the husband by payment of a small fine to the caste.

#### Dedication of Basavis.

The practice of making 'Basavis'\* of women obtains in this caste. The reasons that lead a parent to take this step are generally one of the following:—When there are no male children, the eldest daughter may be converted to a *Basavi*, when she remains permanently in her father's house, inherits the property and in all possible respects takes the place of a son. This may be done in accordance with a vow taken when the girl is afflicted with any dangerous illness, this conversion into a Basavi being, in opposition to all civilized notions, regarded as a dedication to God's service.

The dedication of Basavi is made by a ceremony which, as far as possible, resembles a marriage. The *Chappara* (marriage pavilion) with 12 pillars is erected, a procession goes to a temple where the girl is seated by the side of a dagger and the *tali* (marriage emblem) tied to her by the *Purohit* or by a maternal uncle or maternal uncle's son. A feast is given to the castemen; and after three days the girl is free to take to her bed any man who is not of a lower caste than her own. The first person who receives

\* Near Kurnabatti Mailari (ಕುರನಬತ್ತಿ ಮೈಲಾರಿ) temple, it is said that *Basavis* are dedicated in a large number on the day of God's marriage. (ಕುರನಬತ್ತಿ ಮೈಲಾರಿ). The ceremony is very simple. Girls are brought to the temple after bathing and in front of it *kankanas* and *talis* are tied to them. They have to sleep that night in the temple.

her favors has generally to pay her father the expenses incurred by him for making her a Basavi. Her issue become legitimate and are entitled to a share of their grandfather's property. For purposes of marriage, the issue of such Basavi are as eligible as those of the regular marriage division.

Besides these, who are known as born Basavis (*puttu basavi*, ಪುಟ್ಟುಬಸವಿ), there is yet another class of public women called Kulam Biddalu (ಕುಲಂಬಿಡ್ಡಲು) or children of the caste who are dedicated as follows:—

A widow even with issue and a divorced woman may be made children of the caste after paying a fine to the caste and standing the expense of a feast according to her means. She asks for permission formally at the meeting of the caste men, who as a token of consent give her a handful of the food prepared for the feast which she partakes of along with them. She has thereafter the license to share her bed with strangers (not of an inferior caste) as a *Basavi* has. The chief distinction between the two is that the issue of a *Basavi* are regarded as legitimate for all purposes while those of a daughter of the caste, though legitimate, rank only as the issue of a '*Kudike*' or conventional marriage.

From the above, it may be inferred that sexual license before marriage is not visited with any condign punishment. When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, she will be married to her paramour in *kudike* form if he is of the same caste. If he would not have her or is of a higher caste, a fine will be levied and she will be made a child of the caste, but if the paramour is of lower caste she loses her caste.

In cases of regular marriages no courtship is known, and the parents of the parties bring about the connection. But the *kudike* marriages are as a rule by courtship and consent of the parties. The average age of the boy to marry may be taken as about eighteen.

The dead among them are buried except such as are afflicted with leprosy or other incurable cutaneous diseases, whose bodies are burnt.

Death and  
funeral  
ceremonies.

On the death of a person, the body is washed and wrapped up in a new cloth. Two new earthen pots are brought, and in one of them a small quantity of rice is

cooked in front of the house. But this ceremony is very often dispensed with. The body is placed on a bier made of bamboo or *Kalli* (*Euphorbia Tirukalli*). Betel-leaves and nuts are crushed and the paste is put in the mouth of the dead body. The relatives and friends of the deceased put rice in the eyes of the deceased's body and sometimes beat their mouths. After this, the body is carried by four persons to the burial ground, the chief mourner heading the procession with fire in one hand and the pot with the cooked rice in the other. As soon as the carriers and mourners pass away, a woman in the house, if present, a widow, sprinkles cowdung water on the place where the body had been kept and cleans it. Half the way, the body is kept on the ground and balls of cooked rice are thrown around the body. It is then carried straight to the burial ground. By this time, a Mádiga of the village will have dug a grave ready, for which labor a small fee is paid. The body is carried round the grave three times and is then lowered into it. The bier is taken out, together with any jewels which the deceased might have worn at the time of death. The body is then laid on the back with the head to the South and the grave is closed in. A small mound is raised on the ground, and four quarter-anna pieces are buried, on the four corners of it. Another anna is placed on the grave for *kádu-papa* (ಕಾಡುಪಾಪ) and is intended to be the price of the ground taken up for the grave, and this is taken by the Holeyá of the village. Thereafter the chief mourner, with an earthen pot filled with water, is made to go round the grave three times, and at the end of each turn, a stone is thrown at the vessel by some by-stander, so as to make a hole. With the water thus leaking he comes three rounds and then breaks the vessel on the grave with his back turned towards it and goes away without looking back. The chief mourner and the persons that carried the body wash themselves in a tank or river and return home in wet cloths. By this time, the house has been cleaned and on the spot where the deceased expired, has been kept a light on a winnow (ವೊರ) and an *Yakka* twig, which the party must see before they go to their houses.

If the deceased is only a child or unmarried girl, no ceremony is observed and the body is carried in the arms to the burial place and interred.

On the third day, a ceremony called ಕೂಳುನೀರುಹಾಕುವದು— (putting food and water to the deceased) takes place. The chief mourner with other castemen takes some rice and

vegetables to the burial ground and serves them on the grave in a plantain leaf. The party withdraw to a distance expecting the crows to come and eat the food. When the crows have eaten it, they go to the tank or river, bathe and return home.

No further ceremony is observed till the 12th day. On that day the whole house is whitewashed. The chief mourner as well as all the *Dayadas* (agnates) have a bath.

A Brahman Purohit is called for purifying the house with holy water. Then a party go to the burial ground and on the grave are served up various dishes of food prepared for the purpose. The chief mourner gets his head shaved. After bathing in the river, the party go to the temple and return home. All the agnate and other relations are invited and treated to a feast. This day gifts of cows, shoes, umbrellas and other things are given in charity to Brahmans, their number depending upon the means of the family.

In the case of the death of an unmarried girl or a child, on the 3rd day some milk and edibles are placed on the ground and no further ceremony is observed.

The period of pollution, in the case of adults, is 12 days and in the case of children, 3 days. During this period, the near agnates do not put on the caste mark, or eat any sweet substance or drink milk. They should not enter other's houses, much less touch them.

These men do not perform *sraddhas*; but on the new-moon day in the month of *Bhadrapada* and on the new year's day, they make *puja* in the names of their deceased ancestors. They instal a *Kalasa* in the house, place near it new cloths, burn frankincense and offer prayers to it. They invite their castemen to a dinner.

Outsiders belonging to any recognized higher castes are, though of course rarely, admitted into the Beda caste, a formal ceremony being observed for the purpose. The headmen of two or three *Kattamanes* or caste guilds as well as other castemen are assembled, due notice being given of the purpose of the meeting. Then the person who wishes to be admitted comes to the assembly and prostrating himself before it, begs that he be admitted into the caste. A consultation is held and is sometimes prolonged for two or three days during which time, the members are fed at the expense of the applicant. A fine together with

Admission  
of outsiders.

a *hana* or 4 annas as Kannayya's tax (devoted to the temple of that idol) is levied from the neophyte who is purified with the five products of the cow, his tongue being slightly branded with heated gold. He is also made to drink holy water from a temple. Then the castemen sit down to a feast given at his expense, at which he has to receive a morsel from each of the elders before the feeding begins and partake of the food thus collected with the permission of the assembly which is given in a set formula that there is no longer any impediment (*dòsha*).

Such perversion from higher castes is generally due to the man having illicit relation with some woman of the caste. Such a recruit becomes a member of the caste for all practical purposes, and marries the woman, however, in an inferior marriage, the stigma of which may stick on to his descendants for two or three generations.

Law of inheritance.

They follow ordinarily the Hindu Law of inheritance. *Illāṃ* (*Manuvāṇatana* in Kannada) or affiliation of the son-in-law is practised—and such son-in-law gets a share equal to that of a son. A Basavi daughter also gets an equal share with her brothers, and when she dies, if the family is undivided, her sons step into her place and are entitled to her share. A destitute sister is generally given a cow and a cloth every year.

Social status.

The Bédas are generally considered as low caste people, and therefore Brahmans and other *Dvija* or twice-born classes do not touch them. But they can draw water in the village well, the village barber shaves them and pares their nails and the washerman washes their clothes.

Food.

In the matter of eating meat, they are allowed great latitude. Even jackals and some of the lizard tribe are allowed to them; and though beef is permitted and indeed cannot be refused when offered at a feast, many of them seem to draw a line there, and do not eat cows and buffaloes. The lowest well-known caste with which the Bedas eat is Kuruba and only Agasa (washerman) Madiga (village cobbler) and Holeyas eat in Beda's houses.

They employ Brahmans for auspicious ceremonies such as marriage, and these Brahmans do not suffer in their status by such employment. But for funeral or minor ceremonies, Dasaris and Satanis are called in. But on the 12th day after death, the Brahman *purohit* has to

cleanse the house with water purified by the recitation of holy words.

The Bedas belong to what is called *Nine Phanas* or left hand section. They have a caste council at which their tribal disputes are settled. It is presided over by a headman, who has under him a servant or a beadle known as *Kondigaddu* (ಕೂಂಡಿಗಾಡು). The jurisdiction of a headman is called *Kattemane*, and any matter affecting the caste such as admission of an outsider, *kiddike* marriage, dedication of a girl as a Basavi or a *Kulambiddu* comes before him for settlement. Any transgression of the caste rules is punished by him. And for all this service, he receives *maryade* (ಮರ್ಯಾದೆ) or the conventional fee and a special *támbúla*. When however a dispute of a very serious nature affecting not only one *Kattemane* but several, has to be settled, *Yajamans* of several *Kattemanes* are collected. There is at the head of several *Kattemanes*, a *Dora* or chief whose presence is necessary only in cases of great importance. In marriage and other occasions, the *Dora* or chief, also gets a *támbúla* with a small fee. Tribal constitution.

They are Vaishnavas and worship Vishnu under the different names of Venkataramana, Chennarayana, Narasimha and others. Some of them have also Siva as their family God and go on pilgrimage to Nanjangud, the chief place of Siva worship in the State. Their *guru* or spiritual leader, is a Srivaishnava Brahmin who pays occasional visits, gives them *Chakrankitam* (branding) and holy water and receives his fees. Among the minor goddesses worshipped by Bedas are Gangamma, Mariamma, Kavellemma, Lakkamma, Payamma, Odisilamma, Marigamma, Durgamma, and Challapuramma. Religion.

Gangamma (river or water God) is generally worshipped either at the riverside or near a tank or other reservoir of water. A place is selected and cleaned with water. Three or five or seven stones are set up on which saffron is put on. Incense is burnt, a new cloth is kept near the images, and cocoanut is broken. After the worship, the cloth may be worn by any female member in the house. This worship is specially confined to women, and no bloody sacrifices are offered. The other Goddesses are worshipped some in groves, and some in temples, permanently dedicated to them. Sacrifices of sheep, goats and fowls are very freely offered and partaken of by the



devotees. Fridays and Tuesdays are the days set apart for the worship, but the worship of Gangamma is always confined to a Monday.

To Mári, the village Goddess, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. This worship, though performed by this caste, is done at the instance of the whole village. In the central portion of the village, a temporary shed is erected and in it an image generally of some grotesque or hideous form is installed. The whole village population, except Brahmans, Jains and Lingayats, carry their offerings to the Goddess and the more superstitious of these excepted persons also sometimes send votive offerings. In the night, a he-buffalo is sacrificed. The remains of the animal are then divided among the 12 members comprising the village corporation. As most of them however do not eat buffalo flesh, their shares are taken by the village cobbler or Madiga.

*Munisvara* (ಮುನಿಶ್ವರ) is another object of common worship, not only among the Bedas, but also among other lower castes. He is believed to be the soul of a saint who lived at a time beyond memory and is said to reside in trees. Under a tree, which is said to be the dwelling place of this spirit, a small temple, hardly big enough for one to get in, is built and two or three stones installed therein in the name of this spirit. Sometimes bells are tied to the branches, and when they are shaken by the wind, the sounds are attributed to the sylvan deity. He is considered as an evil spirit and as always waiting for an opportunity to enter the body of persons passing near and bring on sickness to the victim. He is much dreaded and to propitiate him, occasional offerings of sheep, goats, fowls and cooked articles, are made. The animals sacrificed are eaten by the votaries but other articles such as cooked rice, plantains, &c., are left under the tree. They also name their children after this deity.

The spirits of such diseases as, cholera and smallpox, are also worshipped. Serpent worship is also common among them, the belief being that by this skin disease and the diseases of the eye, ulceration in the ear, are cured.

#### Omens.

In common with the other castes of similar status, they believe in omens\*, and the following are a few of them.

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\* Omens are not a specially 'caste' institution. They are a matter of general belief and observance with persons who have not passed a certain stage of mental culture.

Good omens—A crow, a bird called *hálu-hakki* (ಹಾಲುಹಕ್ಕಿ) or a crow pheasant (ಸಂಬಾರಕಾಣಿ) passing from left to right when starting on a journey; a kite (*garuḍa* or Brahmin kite) passing from right to left; toddy pots, dead body, or flowers being carried, or a married woman coming, from the opposite direction.

Among bad Omens may be mentioned, the crossing of the birds named above in a contrary direction, a serpent crossing the path, or the meeting with a barber or a carrier of fire-wood when setting out on any business.

Belief in oracles and witchcraft is general.

They follow their original profession of hunting in the jungles only nominally, and have settled down to agriculture as their chief occupation. As is the case with all agricultural classes in the State, many are petty raiyatwari occupants of lands, paying revenue direct to Government; while many cultivate the lands of others as tenants on "*vāra*," generally paying half the produce to the superior holder. The system of joint-ownership of village lands is not in force anywhere in the State. Some who are village watchmen known as *Talaris* have some free lands (service inam) or get a recognized quantity of grain from each raiyat at the harvest time. Several of them are landless day labourers, earning wages varying from two to five annas a day. There are no nomadic cultivators in the caste.

They have many beliefs, some superstitious and some empirical, in regard to the agricultural operations, which however are common to almost all of the cultivating classes in the State, and which are embodied in popular sayings, such for example as the following. The first ploughing of the season must be commenced on a Sunday or a Thursday. No ploughing should be done on Mondays. Seed should not be sown on Mondays and Tuesdays. There are some popular sayings about the efficacy of rains in certain specified seasons.

A scare crow (generally an old earthen pot with eyes and other marks of the face roughly daubed over) placed on the top of cross sticks dressed with rags, is often set up in fields with the double object of frightening away birds and beasts, and averting the evil eye.

When undertaking any important work such as the sinking of a well or building a house, it is usual to worship

'*Ganesha*' made of cowdung, in the form of a cone. Sometimes a goat or sheep or a fowl is sacrificed on such occasions.

If an eclipse of the Sun or the Moon occurs when the crops are standing, sometimes the owners of the fields bathe and sacrifice a sheep or goat to the field. Boiled rice is mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal and scattered all over the field.

**Dress.**

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. Men generally put on short drawers reaching to the knees - sometimes only a loin cloth. Their women wear *Sire* like other Sudras without dividing the skirt, but such of them as are not Basavis do not wear bodices. In the larger places, there is however an improvement and family women also use this article of dress.

## APPENDIX

### (Names of *Kulas*)

- 1 *Mandala* (ಮಂಡಲ)=Herd of cattle
- 2 *Yanumala* (ಯನುಮಲ)=Buffalo
- 3 *Muchchala* (ಮುಚ್ಚಲ)
- 4 *Sákéla* (ಸಾಕೇಲ)
- 5 *Kāmagétula* (ಕಾಮಗೇತುಲ)
- 6 *Chinnamagala* (ಚಿನ್ನಮಗಲ)
- 7 *Manegala* (ಮನೆಗಲ)
- 8 *Pegadapótula* (ಪಗಡಪೋತುಲ)
- 9 *Chinnamákila* (ಚಿನ್ನಮಾಕಿಲ)
- 10 *Peddámákila* (ಪೆದ್ದಮಾಕಿಲ)
- 11 *Chímala* (ಚೀಮಲ) Ants
- 12 *Gujjala* (ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)
- 13 *Sibbila* (ಸಿಬ್ಬಿಲ)
- 14 *Eṭṭu kondala* (ಏಡುಕೊಂಡಲ)=Seven hills
- 15 *Gangaváramu* (ಗಂಗವಾರಮು)=Name of a place
- 16 *Puvvalu gampalu* (ಪುವ್ವಲು ಗಂಪಲು)=Flower baskets
- 17 *Pótulu* (ಪೋತುಲ)=He-buffaloes
- 18 *Mallelu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲು)=Jassamin
- 19 *Ankéla* (ಅಂಕೇಲ)
- 20 *Settilu* (ಸೆಟ್ಟಿಲ)
- 21 *Muchchatla* (ಮುಚ್ಚಟ್ಟಲ)
- 22 *Nallula* (ನಲ್ಲಲ)=Bugs
- 23 *Minugala* (ಮಿನುಗಲ)
- 24 *Payyala* (ಪಯ್ಯಲ)
- 25 *Gútamu* (ಗೂಟಮು)=Pegs
- 26 *Jemmudu* (ಜಮ್ಮಡು)
- 27 *Yeddula* (ಯದ್ದುಲ)=Oxen
- 28 *Jerrébotula* (ಜೆರೇ ಪೋತುಲ)=A centipede
- 29 *Súrya* (ಸೂರ್ಯ)=The Sun
- 30 *Chendra* (ಚಂದ್ರ)=The Moon
- 31 *Bangáru* (ಬಂಗಾರು)=Gold

- 32 *Bhúcha kra* (ಭೂಚಕ್ರ) The Globe  
 33 *Káchi kaḍla* (ಕಾಚಿಕ್ಡ್ಲ) = A kind of grass  
 34 *Huráti* (ಹುರತಿ) = Horse gram  
 35 *Navane* (ನವಣಿ) = Italian millet  
 36 *Gannéríla* (ಗನ್ನೇರ್ಲಿ) = Sweet-scented oleander  
 37 *Maddála* (ಮದ್ದಲ)  
 38 *Mungala* (ಮುಂಗಲ)  
 39 *Gaḍḍabárla* (ಗಡ್ಡಬಾರ್ಲಿ) = Crowbar  
 40 *Gajjala* (ಗಜ್ಜಲ)  
 41 *Jánamalu* (ಜಾನಮಲ)
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(Preliminary Issue.)

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## KORACHAS OR KORAMAS.

In the last two Census Reports of the State, it has been in a way assumed that Korachas and Koramas are two different castes; but there is strong reason to hold that the names are mere local variations for one and the same caste. The exogamous divisions among them and family names wherever they are found, and the customs such as a maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters of his sister at reduced *tera* and the payment of the *tera* amount in easy instalments spread over a number of years are all common to both the branches, who moreover speak the same language. The number of this caste, according to the last Census, was 24,228, the number of males and females being nearly equal. They are found scattered all over the State, and as a large section of them are of wandering habits, it is not easy to determine where they are chiefly located. The caste.

Their usual names are *Korama* (ಕೊರಮೆ), *Korava* (ಕೊರವೆ) or *Koracha* (ಕೊರಚೆ), and they sometimes call themselves *Koravanji makkata* (ಕೊರವಂಜಿ ಮಕ್ಕಳು). They have acquired nicknames of *Kalla Koracha* (ಕಳ್ಳಕೊರಚರು) or *Kalla Korama* (ಕಳ್ಳಕೊರಮರು) by reason of their reputed thieving propensity. Name.

Abbe Dubois calls them *Kalla Banjaru* (ಕಳ್ಳಬಂಜರು), but this is not current as a name of the caste now, and was probably only a description of their predominant profession as a thieving fraternity, which he mistook to be the name of the caste.

Those that are popularly known as Korachas, say that Koramas are a different class, addicted to thieving, while those passing for Koramas resent being called by the other name which, they say, applies to a thieving class. The origin of the two words seems to be identical and there is little to choose between them as to the evil repute that they suggest.

In Telugu, they are known as *Erukulas* (ఎరుకులవారు) a name which to their thinking carries no stigma, and which each class claims as appropriate to its own division.

They have as their title or name-ending, *Setti* (సేట్టి), besides the usual ones of *Appa* (అప్ప) and *Ayya* (అయ్య); and they maintain that they belong to the 18 *Phanas* or right hand section of castes.

*Korama* and *Koracha* both seem to be derived from the verb *kuru* (కూరు) meaning to divine or prognosticate, and are applied to the caste on account of their profession of fortune-telling, which their women practise. Some derive these terms from a word which means a hillman (cf. Tamil *Kuranj* a hill country), showing that these people are a wild tribe living in jungles. But the former appears to be the more probable derivation and is in meaning equivalent to the Telugu name of the caste, namely, *Erukula* which comes from the root *Erugu* (ఎరుగు), to know or divine.

*Koravanji makkalu* (కొరవంజి మక్కలు) means children of a *Koravanji*, that is, a female fortune-teller.

Many *Koramas* who are educated and live in towns repudiate the name, and call themselves *Balajas* or *Koravanjis*. The division of *Koramas* known as *Sopai* (సోపాయి) *Koramas* who are pipers, in some places such as *Chikmagalur*, deny their identity with the main caste. But an enquiry into their habits and customs proves their unmistakable identity.

Origin.

It has not been possible to obtain information of any value concerning the origin of the caste. It is likely that they are one of the aboriginal tribes, or that they have a large proportion of blood of such tribes in their veins. Of course, in their case also, mythological or fanciful legends are not wanting to explain their origin. There is a story current that *Párvati*, the consort of *Siva*, once disguised herself as a soothsayer and that *Koramas* are her descendants. Another story connected with their occupation is that a *Méda* was asked to prepare a cradle for *Párvati*'s child out of a serpent with its stomach filled with precious stones, but he was afraid of touching it on account of the rattling noise of the stones. Then a *Koracha* was asked, to do the job but he was given a knotted serpent and as the precious stones were held tightly packed in their place by the knots, he heard no rattling, and boldly took it and

split it like a bamboo and made the cradle. Both castes were thenceforth to live on bamboo wicker work; but the Médá still goes about in a gingerly manner and splits his bamboos from the bottom, whereas the Koracha proceeds to cut them from the top. As a reward for the cradle made by him, Párvati presented the Koracha with a divining rod of the bamboo and a winnow which she had been using herself for fortune-telling, and that is how this profession has come down to them.

Mythology apart, they are a wandering tribe found all over the State. That they are decidedly of Tamil origin is borne out by the language they speak, which is common to them irrespective of the place they live in, whether as Erukulas in the Telugu country, as Koravas in the Tamil tracts, as Koramas or Korachas in the Kannada parts or as Koravis or Kaikaris in the Mahratta country.

Abbe Dubois is of opinion that their customs and manners have much in common with those of wandering tribes known in England and France as Gypsies or Bohemians, and that they might have come into this country from Egypt. But the conclusion is far-fetched and Koramas of this State do not show the least traces of such a distant origin.

They speak a language which appears to be a dialect of Tamil or a medley of Tamil, Telugu and Kannada, the first element preponderating. It is not easily intelligible to common people, and like all criminal tribes they have a slang of their own which the uninitiated cannot understand. They are said to have, says Mr. Rice, a peculiar gypsy language of their own with a system of signals which enables them to converse with the initiated, unobserved. \*

There are four main divisions which, though originally based on occupations, have become endogamous at present. They are úru or Dabbe Korachas (ಉರು ಕೊರಚರು, ದಬ್ಬೆ ಕೊರಚರು), Uppu or Ghattada Korachas (ಉಪ್ಪು ಕೊರಚರು, ಘಟ್ಟದ ಕೊರಚರು), also known as Ettina Korachas (ಎತ್ತಿನ ಕೊರಚರು), Kunchige Korachas (ಕುಂಚಿಗೆ ಕೊರಚರು) and Sonai Korachas (ಸೊಣಾಯ್ ಕೊರಚರು). There said to be also Pátrada Korachas (ಪಾತ್ರದ ಕೊರಚರು) and Súle Korachas (ಸೂಲೆ ಕೊರಚರು).

Úru Korachas are so called because they have settled down within towns and villages. They are agriculturists

\* Mysore Gazetteer. I., 233.



but also make baskets, and their women practise tattooing and fortune-telling. They are styled Dabbe Korachas as they prepare bamboo baskets and other wicker work. Uppu Korachas trade in salt and are known also as Ghattada Korachas, because before the introduction of railways, they were the chief carriers of trade between the sea-coasts and the interior of the country above the ghats. Ettina Korachas use bullocks more than donkeys as beasts of burden, and they have incurred notoriety as cattle-lifters. Kunchige Korachas are those who manufacture *Kunchige* or the brush used by weavers for starching their yarn. Sonai\* Korachas get their name from a wind instrument (a pipe called *sonai* in their dialect) on which they play.

Except Uru and Sonai Korachas who are almost settled and live within villages, the rest are more or less reputed to be thieves and are known by the nickname of *Kalla* or thieving Korachas.

#### Exogamous divisions.

They have four exogamous divisions: —Sātpādi (ಸಾತ್ಪಾಡಿ), Kāvadi (ಕಾವಡಿ), Ménpādi (ಮೇನಪಾಡಿ), Mendragutti (ಮೆಂಡ್ರಗುತ್ತಿ). They say that the people of Sātpādi division regard the Kakke plant (ಕಕ್ಕೆ, in Telugu, రొలి) as sacred and those of the Kāvadi, the Margosa tree, and that they set up stones to represent their family gods underneath these trees, to worship them. The meanings of these terms are obscure and is said to be connected with the various services performed to the god (Venkataramanaswami) at the shrine of Tirupati. It is stated that *Sātpādi* are so called because they adorn their god with flowers and jewels, this process being in Tamil styled *Sātpādi* which is equivalent to *Samarpanē* in Sanskrit. *Kāvadi* means a carrying pole and the people of this division are said to have carried their offerings to their god, suspended to a pole at both ends. *Ménpādi* division sing praises of god before the idol; and *Mendragutti* division offer shoes to the idol.

Sātpādi and Kāvadi are said to be the only two proper divisions, the other two Mendragutti and Ménpādi being the late immigrants from Bandar country (Krishna District), belonging to these main divisions. They received separate names, and even now, in some places, it appears that

\* They may be easily identified as the snake-charmers who, come begging playing on their pipes, with cobras which they exhibit before houses.

intermarriages between Sātpādi and Mendragutti or Kāvādi Ménpādi are not allowed ; but this distinction is not long kept up.

Korachas have also what are known as family or house names, which however have no significance in marital relations. Some of these names are appended. They have no hypergamous divisions.

The ordinary Korachas do not observe any elaborate birth Birth ceremonies. Soon after the child is born, it is washed in lukewarm water, and sometimes the mother is also given a bath and made to lie flat, the waist being tightly bandaged. She is given the usual heating medicines to help her recovery. On the 5th or the 7th day, she and the child are bathed. The whole house is cleaned with cow-dung water and some castemen are invited to a dinner. In the evening of that day, the child is put into a cradle and is given a name. Toddy, arrack and even foreign liquors are freely used on this occasion.

Their names are generally taken from those of their gods and goddesses which include many sylvan deities. The following may be taken as typical, both for males and females.\* *Sunka* (ಸುಂಕ), *Māra* (ಮಾರ), *Hannūra* (ಹೊನ್ನೂರ), *Hannūma* (ಹನುಮ), *Malla* (ಮಲ್ಲ), *Yalla* (ಯಲ್ಲ) and *Mācha* (ಮಾಚ), nicknames such as, *Jūla* (curly haired), *Solla* (crooked) are common

When a child is born after the death of one or more children, a peculiar custom is observed in some places. Soon after the purification bath is taken, the mother either really or nominally goes begging to a few houses to perform a vow previously taken to Venkatramana (of Tirupati) or other family deity, while the father follows her

\* In the Dravidian languages, the same name may be used for both sexes, but the sex is always distinguished by the ending, masculine ending in *a* (ಅ) and the feminine in *i* (ಇ). Except in familiar intercourse, an honorific suffix is always, especially in the higher castes, added, which may be either general such as *appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ-father), *ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ from Sanskrit *arya*, elder or sir), *ayya* (ಅಣ್ಣ brother), or professional or caste-denoting, such as *sistri*, *dikshita* for Brahmins, *arasu* or *raje-arasu* for the Arasu (or kingly castes), *seffi*, *gundu*, *nāyaka* for other castes, and *rāu* indifferently for Brahmins, Mahanatas, Sudras, etc.

For female names, the variety is not so great, the terminations being *amma*, *ava* (ಅಮ್ಮ, ಅಮ್ಮ, mother), *akku* (ಅಕ್ಕ, sister), and *ammaṇṇi* (ಅಮ್ಮಣ್ಣಿ, a diminutive form, to denote dearness, of *amma*), the latter being specially employed by the Arasu community and those who imitate them.

with the child in his arms. Out of the money collected, a silver or a copper necklace is made and put round the child's neck. The nose is bored and a ring inserted in the hole; and the child is given a name to denote that he has been born for the sake of begging or by begging.\*

There is no custom of giving two names to the child, one for ceremonial purposes and the other for everyday use. But it is a notorious fact that the Korachas who engage themselves in the profession of thieving have a number of *aliases*, and they have an understanding among themselves as to which should be employed on each occasion, so that the deception may not be discovered, even if the other members of the gang are separately questioned about the names of their associates.

#### *Couvade.*

The Korachas seem to have traces of the custom called *Couvade*, according to which, when a wife is delivered of a child, the husband is confined to bed and treated as a delicate patient. The practice seems to be dying out, and exists only in remote parts in the Shimoga District and elsewhere. These people were questioned in Hiriur, Sira, Maddagiri, Kankanhalli, Mulbagal and Goribidnur Taluks but they were generally unwilling to admit its existence without a round-about cross-examination. There is a proverb in Tamil which means that when a Korama woman brought forth a son, the Korama man ate assafetida. † Even where the usage has not disappeared, they now only nominally follow it, giving the husband a little of the medicines prepared for the wife. ‡

#### Adoption.

When a man has no children he may adopt a boy, preferably the son of a brother or one belonging to the same exogamous division. But a brother cannot be adopted. There is no ceremony observed except that of taking off the old waist thread (ಉಡಿದಾರ) of the boy and putting on a new one and giving a dinner to the caste people, to announce the fact.

#### Marriage.

Marriages are generally celebrated after puberty. A woman may, without incurring any social odium, remain

\* Such as *Tirupatigāḍu* (ತಿರುಪತಿಗಾಡು) or *Tirupṇṇiki-puṭṭināṇḍu* (ತಿರುಪ್ಪಣ್ಣಿನಾಂಡು).

† ಕುರತ್ತಿ ಪುಟ್ಟಪೆತ್ತಾಲ್ ಕುರವ್ ಪರಂಗಾಯಂ ತಿಣ್ಣಿಣ್.

‡ The late Mr. G. Krishna Rao made some enquiry on this matter while he was Superintendent of Police in Shimoga, and furnished a short account, which has been published by the Superintendent of the Madras Museum, in a Bulletin. (Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 115-116).

unmarried. If she should be discovered to have gone astray, she is made to join the man, in *kudike*, if he is of the same caste. If the paramour is of a different but higher caste, her fault may be condoned by a fine, but if he happens to be of a lower caste, she loses her caste.

Polygamy is allowed and practised to some extent according to the means of the husband, but polyandry is unknown.

In marriages, they have to avoid girls among their agnatic relations and others born in their own group, the affinity to the group being traced through males. Marriage with an elder sister's daughter is allowed, but the daughter of a younger sister cannot be taken to wife, unless by a widower. Maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter may be married; but in the case of the paternal aunt's daughter, if his father or paternal uncle (younger or elder) has already married a daughter of hers, the other cannot be married by him (the nephew). Marriages in the section in which one's own mother or father's mother was born are allowed, but not in the section in which one's own mother's mother was born, as the latter generally happens to be of one's own section. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously. It is said that if a man has married the younger of the two sisters, the elder cannot afterwards be taken to wife, either in regular marriage or in *kudike*, on the ground that the relationship as wife's sister (ಅಜ್ಜಿ) is looked upon as equivalent to that of a mother thus rendering marriage with her incestuous. Two sisters may be married by two brothers. The only other formula not covered by the rule of exogamy is that the intended couple should not be related, either actually, or by analogy as parent and child or as brother and sister. There is no objection to exchange of daughters between two families in marriage.

It is a binding custom among the Korachas that the first two daughters of a woman must be given, on a reduced *tera*, to her brother to be married either by himself or to his sons. If he has no sons and does not himself stand in need of the girls for marriage, his right to them is exercised by his getting two-fifths of the *tera* amount payable for each of them at their marriage, but if he takes them, he pays only 12 pagodas each, while the usual *tera* is 20 pagodas.

This is one of the few castes in which the wife may be older than the husband by months and even, though rarely, by years. This is explained by them as owing to their disinclination to forego their right to marry a sister's daughter which is universally recognised in the caste.

There are no impassable bars to marriage imposed by religious or professional considerations, but they usually contract marital relations only with families that are known to one another and that are already so connected. Such of the caste as have long given up criminal and predatory habits, and have settled in towns and villages owning houses and other property, will not naturally enter into alliance with their castemen, who are still notoriously addicted to such habits.

The Korachas who have adopted settled habits, have been imitating Vakkaligas and other similar castes in their marriage ceremonial to a greater or less extent. But the wandering portion of them still retain their peculiarities. They observe no *Vilva-Sāstra* (ವಿಲ್ವಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ), do not call in any band of pipers nor use the *bhāshatunga* (ಭಾಷಂಗ) marriage chaplet, and some do not even erect a marriage booth. The Brahman astrologer is consulted only to see if the stars corresponding to the names of parties agree\* and to fix a day. He has no further share in the celebration of the marriage.

Monday is considered the proper one to commence the actual ceremony. On the previous Friday, the bridegroom goes to the bride's hut and presents her with a few coins, the acceptance of which signifies her consent. They are both then rubbed with turmeric paste and have a general feasting separately in their own places.

If the parties live in separate villages, the bridegroom and his party arrive at the village of the bride and pitch their hut near hers.

On the day fixed for the marriage, two fresh huts are erected, with their doors opening to the east, one being for the bride and the other for the bridegroom. Strictly speaking, this should be done though they live in houses in villages, as marriages must always take place before huts temporarily put up, but these living in towns have mostly

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\* This is called in Kannaḍa as *Hesarubalu* (ಹೆಸರುಬಲ), i. e., agreement of names.

given up this practice. The parties are led to their huts and are anointed and bathed. They are then seated on pices of date mats and are besmeared with turmeric. After this, they have a dinner for the castemen.

In the evening at about 6 the bride and the bridegroom are again anointed and bathed. Dressed in fresh clothes, they are made to sit facing each other on date mats between the two huts. The fringes of their garments are tied together, and between the couple two pots (ಅರಿವೇಣಿ ಗಳು) are kept on a date mat and worshipped. They rest their hands on these pots, the hand of the bridegroom being placed over that of the bride; and each ties to the other's wrist a *kankana* of woollen and cotton threads twisted together and a turmeric root, a betel leaf and a copper ring tied to it. Similar *kankanas* are tied to the pots also. The couple are then led to the bride's house by the bridegroom's maternal uncle or a similar relation. That night, the bride and the bridegroom observe a fast.

Early in the morning, the next day, the maternal uncle of either the bride or the bridegroom who happens to be unmarried, cuts a branch of a *Nérāle* tree (Jamholana, and places it at a well or a water course. Five persons, two men and three married women, go there carrying two sacred pots and a light, fill the pots with water, worship them and the piece of *Nérāle* wood, and bring them to the bride's hut. This branch is fixed on a small dais in front of the bride's hut and the pots are deposited on a bed of rice spread near it. Two earthen dishes filled with cotton seed and castor oil are placed on these pots and lighted and kept burning till the *dhāre* is over. It is the belief that if these lights, styled *mandapa dipa* (ಮಂಜಪದೀಪ), burn steadily, the marriage will prove a happy one. A *kalasa* is also placed there on grains of rice spread in a dish, and *pūja* is made to it, a cocoanut being offered and frankincense burnt.

The bride and the bridegroom are now conducted to this place and stand facing each other, the bride looking towards the east. The bridegroom ties the *tūpi* made of a string of black glass beads round the bride's neck; and then they put handfuls of rice on each other's head. The married couple sit to a common meal (ಬೂವು), with the three women and two men that have brought the sacred twig and pots, in which cooked rice, plantains, jaggory and ghee are served to them.

After this they have *Nalugu* when the bridegroom and the bride sit together and offer to each other flowers, sandal, turmeric paste and *pan-supari*, and pour *sáse* or rice\* on each other. Then with the fringes of their garments tied together, and holding each other by the right hands, they are taken to bathe. They sit side by side on wooden pestles laid on the ground and water is poured on them. They go with wet clothes on and worship the *Nérale* twig by going round it thrice and falling prostrate before it.

“The pot searching” ceremony takes place next. A pot decorated with chunam lines is filled with red coloured water, and pieces of silver, copper and gold are thrown in it. The bride and the bridegroom are made to search for and pick out these pieces alternately.

That evening the bride and the bridegroom dressed in rich clothes, and the girl profusely bedecked and crowned with flowers go in state to a temple and after worship return to the bride’s hut, the procession being led by a married woman carrying a lamp on her head. At the entrance of the hut, the woman waves this lamp about the couple for which service she receives a little present. The couple are then taken into the hut, given fresh clothes and served with food, which they and the three married women and two men referred to, must eat from the same dish. This is called the second *Buma* (ಬೂಮ).

Then the *Nérale* branch set up in the pandal, is removed after *púja* from its place. Before its removal, the castemen assemble and demand presents according to the means of the parties. They begin sometimes as high as a hundred rupees, but by haggling the demand is reduced to about five or ten rupees. Occasionally when the parties are very poor, it is even compounded for a betel leaf and a nut.

The bride and the bridegroom are again besmeared with turmeric, and the mother fills the girl’s garment with presents consisting of dry cocoanuts (*kopra*) cut in halves, turmeric roots, betel leaves and nuts, five quarter-seers of rice and five *hanas*. They then rise from their seats with the fringes of their garments tied together and holding

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\* Rice is believed to be the sign of plenty and the throwing of rice on the heads of the couple by way of blessing is meant to invoke prosperity and happiness on them. In every auspicious ceremony this is an important item.

each other's right hand. The bride transfers the presents into the cloth of the bridegroom, who keeps the rice and returns the rest to her. They salute the elders by prostrating before them and receive their congratulations accompanied with presents of money ranging from a two anna piece upwards, though rarely going to rupees. The hut erected for the husband is then pulled down and its materials and the domestic vessels contained in it are carried to some distance by the bride, who also drives at the same time her husband's donkeys to the new site. She then puts up the hut again and with five married women who accompany her, she fetches water from a well, cooks food and serves it to all the guests. This finally installs her in her new house as its mistress.

This hut is again pulled down and those who brought the materials of the hut and the milk post tie them up in a bundle, which they sink in a pond or well. They are then dismissed with presents of *pan-supari* and some money.

The amount of bride price or *tera* (or *ōli* in Telugu) is 24 pagodas or Rs. 72, and in some places 20 pagodas or Rs. 60. It is said that sometimes as much as Rs. 100 has to be paid. On account of the general poverty of the caste, the payment is spread over a large number of years and it is reported to be not uncommon for a man to remain indebted to the family of his father-in-law during his whole life. Among some families, particularly among the wandering portion of the caste, the son-in-law lives near his father-in-law's hut till a child is born to him.

Among the more civilized portion of the caste, half the *tera* is paid at once, the remaining half being paid at a subsequent date or at the consummation of marriage. A widower marrying a virgin need not pay any additional amount.

The expenditure at a marriage of course greatly varies according to the means of the parties. In addition to the amount of *tera*, the average for a family in ordinary (which generally means, poor) circumstances, may be roughly estimated to be twenty rupees for toddy, twenty-five rupees as feeding charges, and twenty-five rupees for clothes and sundry purposes.

Both parties, especially that of the bridegroom, must supply the castemen with drink every day, and any omission to do so is resented and leads to quarrel.



## Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for four days. During this period, she remains outside the house or hut and a separate shed, made of green leaves of *Lakkali* plant is put up for her. She is given a mat to sit on, and a branch of *Bikka* plant and an iron knife are kept always in the shed to ward off evil spirits, to whose attacks she is considered specially liable during the time. Among people living in villages and towns, the ceremony of presenting the girl with cocoanuts and other things filled in her garment, is observed every evening.

On the fifth day, two married women assist her to bathe and present her with *pan-supari*, dried cocoanut halves and some dates and Bengal gram soaked in water. Green gram and rice are separately boiled and mixed together with jaggory and made into balls of which three are given to the girl to eat, the rest being given away to two boys and two girls. There is generally a dinner to the caste. The girl takes only one meal during the day.

In the case of a girl who has attained puberty before marriage, consummation is delayed for three months after the marriage, at the end of which the husband goes to his wife's hut, a caste dinner is given, and man and wife thereafter live together.

Widow  
Marriage.

Widow marriage is freely allowed, and a woman may marry as many times as she pleases, provided that at the time of every subsequent marriage, her previous husband is either dead or has divorced her. The ceremony observed is very simple. The head of the caste styled *Nayak* is invited along with other caste people. In the evening of the day fixed, before the house of the woman, her intended husband presents her with a new cloth with or without some jewels in addition. The *hantu* presented to the caste by her previous husband at marriage, is returned to his heir, and a similar sum is now given to the caste by the new husband. The *Nayak* then declares them husband and wife. The castemen are treated to a dinner and are regaled with toddy. The *tera* amount paid to a widow varies between from three pagodas to fourteen pagodas.

A widow cannot marry her husband's brother, but may marry any other belonging to his division or sept. It has been stated in one account that the second husband who is allowed the concession of paying a low *tera* has to support the children of the woman by her first husband,

though when grown up, they revert to the family of the first husband.

Divorce is permitted on account of the wife's adultery. Divorce. The divorced woman may marry her paramour, the latter having to pay to the previous husband not only the *tera* amount paid by him, but also the expenses of marriage.

Adultery with a man of a higher caste is generally condoned, but entails excommunication when the woman has gone astray with a man of a lower caste. It has been stated that a man of this caste who attempts to outrage the chastity of a married woman, is punished by having his head and whiskers completely shaved, and paraded in the street seated on a she-donkey, a paste of onions being previously applied to his bald crown. If he wishes to rejoin the caste, he is fined the cost of a dinner with toddy to the castemen.

They are not very strict in matters of sexual morality. But it is difficult to believe as stated in a recent publication that they sell or pledge their wives "taking them back" upon redemption of the pledge with any children born "in the interval and treating them as though nothing had happened."\* No trace of this practice as a custom, could be discovered by enquiries made in this State. It is likely that the observation is due to a hasty generalisation from some causes of sexual laxity coming to notice. But poverty and a low standard of morality account for the wives of criminals incarcerated for long terms accepting the protection of some one else, and returning to the husband after his return.

If a man has sexual connection with an unmarried girl and the fact becomes known to the caste, the pair will be married under *kūdike* form. The man pays some fine, which is spent in supplying toddy to the castemen, and gives a dinner. The pair remain separate till they go to Tirupati and have the ceremony called *tala-bālu* (తలబాలు) performed there. Two or three castemen accompany them to the temple there. After worshipping at the shrine, the priest throws some rice on the heads of the pair seated together with their children, if any, on either side. They then, in their turn, pour rice on each other's heads. This fully validates their marriage, and the children born of this wedlock, whether before or after this ceremony, will

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\* Notes on Criminal Class by Mr. Mullaly.

be entitled to have their marriages performed in the regular fashion. The omission of this ceremony is said to leave the children in the inferior status of *Kudike-Salu* (progeny of concubinage) and they are not allowed marriage relations with those regularly born.\* If a widow or a divorced woman marries another, the form of marriage is *kudike*, but she need not undergo the *tala-balu* ceremony at Tirupati, as she has already undergone regular marriage once.

Death ceremonies.

They bury their dead. As soon as life is extinct, the body is washed and a mark is put on the forehead *nāma* if a male and *kunkuma* spot if a female. Then it is covered up in a new cloth and is carried to the burial ground on a bier built of bamboos. The carriers must, if possible, be all related as agnates to the deceased. As usual, the body is placed on the ground when half-way to the burial ground, and the chief mourner going round it three times from right to left,† breaks a new pot standing by the head of the corpse, and throws about cooked rice round the bier. Thereupon the carriers change sides and take the body straight to the burial ground. They lower the body into the pit, and the chief mourner puts the first handful of earth, the others all doing likewise after him. When the grave is thus closed up, the chief mourner goes round the ground with a burning faggot of wood and quenches it at the head side of the buried body.‡ The body is buried with the head turned to the south and only the cloth in which the body has been rolled up is buried along with it. On the grave they leave a quarter anna\*\* coin which a Holeyā takes for himself. The party return home after bathing in a river or a well, and have to see a light kept burning at the place where the deceased expired.

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\* This practice is in vogue only among the wandering portion of Korachas.

† For auspicious ceremonies when one has to go round in token of showing respect or worship, one goes from left to right—in the way the sun moves apparently in the sky. In unauspicious ceremonies, such as death ceremonies, one generally circumambulates in the contrary or *apasavya* manner.

‡ This is known in Telugu as *talagorivi pottēdi* (తలగోరివిపెట్టేది), i.e., placing a faggot at the head.

\*\* This is called in Kannada *nelahāga* (ನೆಲಹಾಗ) and is said properly to belong to a caste of men known as *Sudugādu Siddas* (ಸುದುಗಾಡುಸಿದ್ಧರು) or *Kāti Pāpas* (ಕಾಟಿಪಾಪರು) in Telugu. The Holeyā collects this on behalf of the above and when they pay the Holeyās periodical visits, the latter have to pay some amount on this account.

On the third day, the chief mourner and some others of the family go to the burial ground and offer cooked rice and water to the deceased. Again on the fifth day, they similarly offer food at the grave. It is believed that the spirit of the deceased is lingering about in the bodies of crows which should eat up this food. This day all the agnates take a bath which removes the pollution. At the end of a month or at a later date within the third month, all the castemen and relations are invited to a dinner, and offerings of food are made to a *kalasa* set up in the name of the deceased.

They do not observe *śrāddhas*, but during the Dasara or on the Mahalaya new-moon day—a *Kalasa* is set up in the middle of the house, new cloths, if they can afford to buy them, are kept near it, and *pūja* is made to it by burning incense and breaking a cocoanut in the names of the deceased ancestors.

Korachas were formerly a nomadic people, but many of them have now settled in towns and villages. They have no recognized head-quarters. The nomadic section are essentially a criminal class, figuring largely in dacoity, highway robbery and burglary. They go about in gangs when on their criminal expeditions, and different gangs have some means of keeping themselves informed of the movements and places of rendezvous of their allied gangs, to whatever distance they may penetrate. Social status.

Ūru-Korachas live in houses similar to those of other castes of their own standing, but the wandering Korachas live outside the villages in temporary huts of arched covering like the top of a country cart, the bent bamboos being stuck in the ground, so as to leave a breadth of about four feet. They encamp in groups and when they shift their places, they carry away their huts on their bullocks. The thieving gangs generally select their places for camping in the jungle.

They have no objection to take into their fold persons male or female, of other castes, such as Vakkaligas, Banajigas or Kurubas, who are admittedly higher in social scale.\* Some accounts say that the convert must be one belonging by birth to the right hand group (18 Phanas), to which the Korachas belong. Some ceremony is observed at the time of admission. The candidate after a bath gets

\* It is said that a Brahman will not be admitted into their caste.

his tongue slightly touched with a burnt piece of gold or a margosa stick. Sometimes he has to swallow a little of turmeric and soapnut paste. He gets *tirtha* and *prasāda* in a temple, and afterwards gives a dinner to the castemen, with whom he also eats sitting in the same line, after the headman has publicly announced his admission. In the evening the castemen are generally regaled with toddy at the expense of the new-comer.

They are not required to employ Brahmans for their marriages or any other ceremonial purposes. But some of them, settled in towns, occasionally call in Brahmans chiefly as a mark of respectability, and when any Brahman does go to minister to them, he is not subjected to any social disability.

In social position, they rank very low, although they belong to the right hand group of castes known as the Eighteen Phanas. In the bell and the spoon, the insignia of the Eighteen Phanas which is always kept in the custody of the Chalavādi,\* the professional symbol of the Korachas, namely, the splitting knife, is engraved, and the Chalavādi carries the insignia in their processions and other solemn occasions. The Korachas are admitted only into the outer portions of the houses of Brahmans, and actual bodily contact with them is avoided. When a congregation of all the castes takes place in a temple, the Korachas occupy a place only next above the Nāyindas (barbers) and Agasas (washermen) and do not enter the inner portion of the temple. They can live in the same quarter of the village which other non-Brahman classes occupy, but in large towns they usually have separate quarters. They are lower in status than the Médas, another class of workers in bamboo. The Korachas who follow this profession can be singled out from the Médas from the absence of *Trisūla* or trident engraved in their (Korachas') knife. As regards dining, the only classes who eat in the houses of Korachas are Holeyas and Mádigas.

They eat sheep, goats, pigs, the larger species of the lizard class and fish of all kinds. They do not eat beef or kill snakes and monkeys. They indulge rather excessively in drink, using both country and foreign liquor.

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\* Chalavadi, who is a Holeyā in caste, is the servant of the group of castes coming under the Eighteen Phanas. He is the custodian of the symbol of this section, the bell and the ladle, on which are engraved the several insignia of the castes composing it.

The Ūru and other settled divisions of the Korachas have a Setṭi and a Yajman as their tribal functionaries, who enquire into and settle their disputes. Their presence is necessary in all marriage and other ceremonies. They are said to belong to the right hand division, that is, Eighteen Phayās and as such are under the jurisdiction of the Dêsa Setṭi. Tribal organization.

The wandering Korachas are divided into several gangs at the head of each of which is a *Nāyak* or headman. The office of this man is not hereditary but goes to the most competent among them. He commands much respect in the community and settles all the disputes among them. When they divide their predatory gains, the *Nāyak* gets an extra share and in return, it is incumbent on him to use every endeavour to obtain the release of any one of the gang that may be caught and cast in prison, and to make proper arrangement for the maintenance of the convict's wife and children. Periodically members of all the gangs meet at a known rendezvous and settle their caste disputes. Such meetings continue for several days and the toddy and arrack shops in the vicinity drive a good trade.

The general Hindu law is applied to them in matters of inheritance. But in the case of those not regularly settled in towns, they rarely have property sufficient to raise any questions of dispute, and as such property that they have is generally of a kind not to bear too close an investigation as to its origin, the disputes are generally settled among themselves. The father seems to be regarded as having more power than under the ordinary law, and the sons are not allowed to claim a share against his wish. They settle disputes by caste meetings, and the decisions are enforced by pain of social ostracism. Inheritance

The divisions named above, are occupational. Uru Occupation.  
Korachas used to trade in earth salt and even now in the places where it is prepared, they buy it up from the Upparas or salt makers and retail it to the villagers. The trade however has almost disappeared owing to the competition of sea salt. Now they have settled down to agriculture, and are hardly distinguishable from the other agriculturists, unless it be from the soothsaying and tattooing which their women still practise. The Korachas of this division are also known as *Dabbe* or Bamboo Korachas, and they make mats, winnows, sieves, cradles and baskets of all kinds and sizes. The Ghaṭṭada or Uppu Korachas were also

formerly great traders in salt. Before the country was opened up by railway communication, they used to ply between the sea-coast and the interior with droves of pack bullocks and asses, on the backs of which their merchandise of salt and grains was transported. They used to travel from place to place with salt in caravans with their women and children, carrying the materials of their huts along with them. But improved roads and means of transport have sadly encroached on their main lawful occupation, and has driven them more than ever to thieving where they have not settled down to agriculture. In some places, however, (as, *e. g.*, Avani, in the Mulbagal Taluk, Kolar District) they still adhere to their old profession and buy imported salt in fairly large quantities in weekly fairs, and sell it in retail in the surrounding villages, thus making a scanty living for themselves.

The Korachas are included under the criminal tribes and are placed under surveillance. They generally take great precautions in carrying out gang robberies, posting sentinels and overawing the inhabitants of the village from giving help to their victims. They train their youths in the arts of lying, and subject them to the discipline of suffering pain without wincing, so that they may not easily betray their accomplices when caught. Burglaries and robberies on a large scale are often the work of Korachas, and to strike terror into the hearts of the villagers, they sometimes carry torches with them.\* They are also adepts in cattle-lifting. Their women sometimes go about hawking baskets and professing to read fortunes, and collect information as to the most suitable houses for attack.

Tattooing is done by the women of the Koracha caste. Women are their patrons generally, though occasionally men submit themselves to the operation. "The tattooers generally use pigments of black and green colour, rarely of blue or dark green colours. They prepare these pigments by mixing with the juice of certain plants or herbs fine charcoal powder obtained by burning a cocoa-nut shell and powdering it finely, or lamp-black or soot, and adding to the mixture, before it is used, either breast milk or water or both."†

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\* See Abbe Dubois on the customs and manners of the Hindus, pp. 66-67 as to the manner of their carrying out their nefarious trade.

† See Mysore Census Report, 1901, in which an excellent account of tattooing is given.

After the tattooing operation is over, the Koracha woman asks for and gets some chillies and a little salt which she waves round the tattooed portion repeating a formula which means that by the help of such and such a god, the effect of evil eyes cast on the tattoo, by the by-standers and others including the woman herself, be removed. Then she smears this portion with turmeric powder. This is said to prevent the tattooed portion from swelling.

The designs employed in tattooing are very varied, flowers, birds and plants being the most usual. The Koracha woman generally keeps a book in which are drawn a number of figures, which she submits to the patient for selecting the pattern. There is a graduated scale of charges for each design. In addition to these modes of living, they engage themselves in catching edible birds for sale or consumption by themselves. They catch birds by means of snares or nets and sometimes by placing gum on the roosts. The women sometimes gain a pittance by begging at the doors of others.

In the Census Report of 1901, the Korachas are classed as animists. Animism has been defined as "the belief which traces everything in the world, from the greater natural phenomena to the various diseases and misfortunes which afflict mankind, to the action of numberless indeterminate, powers or influences, among which, on the theory which gives rise to the name, the souls of departed chiefs and ancestors are supposed to occupy a prominent place." These distinctions are not, at any rate so far as the population of this State is concerned, exclusively applicable to any class or caste. The performance of Sráddhas and other similar ceremonies shows that the highest classes are not free from this belief. But as we go down in the scale, the belief in spirits and the practice of offering worship to them is found to assume more and more importance. Koracha class can hardly be regarded as pure animists as their principal god is Venkataramana of Tirupati, commonly known among them as Tirupati Timmappa. They go on pilgrimage to this shrine periodically, and as noticed already, any informal union of an unmarried girl with a man must be confirmed by the performance of the marriage rite there. Religion.

The names of the chief female deities worshipped by them are Durgamma, Máramma, Halagamma, Máthanamma, Gangamma, Maddúramma and Yellamma. The



worship of a spirit known as *Munísvara*, is very common in the caste. They offer sheep and goats to these deities and they eat the sacrificed animals. Each of their settlements contains a hut or other structure dedicated to one of these local gods, and they conduct the *pūja* in their own manner.

They observe no fasts but keep some of the principal feasts of the Hindus, such as, the new-year's-day, Gauri feast and Navarātri. Saturdays are devoted to the worship of Venkataramaṇa. All of them, whether belonging to the wandering or the settled section, bathe on that day and if a Viṣṇu temple is near at hand, they go there and offer fruits and flowers and get *prasāda* before they eat their food.

They have faith in sorcery, but they consult no soothsayers. As the Koracha women are professional soothsayers, their want of faith in their own trade is significant. But they have an implicit belief in omens, and it is said that, whenever the Korachas propose going on their depre-datory excursions, they offer *pūja* at their temple and pray to be favored with good luck. The omens and the significance attached to them are the same as for other castes who share the superstition, and they are such as the chirping of a lizard, sneezing, and the crossing of snakes, cats and other animals, when one starts on any business. Indeed, there is a regular code of omens on which the elder members are an authority, and the rules are even collected in printed books.

Miscellaneous.

Korachas get themselves tattooed. A woman may get tattooed any time before she becomes a mother. It is said that at the time when she gets tattooed for the first time, her paternal aunt is invited to a dinner. She is presented with a new *sādi* and the day is observed as a feast. As regards dress, men wear short drawers, a turban and an upper cloth and sometimes a coat. They put on ear-rings styled *Métimuruvu* (ಮೇಟಿ ಮುರುವು) and silver bangles on the wrists. Women wear a *sādi*, but not a *ravike*, but among Ūru and Soṇai Korachas women wear this article of dress also. The wandering Koracha women put on garlands of glass beads profusely.

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## APPENDIX.

‘ House or family names ’ of the Korachas.

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- 1 *Allipe* (ಅಲ್ಲಿಪೆ)
  - 2 *Ambúdrí* (ಅಂಬೂದ್ರಿ)
  - 3 *Ballaga* (ಬಳ್ಳಗ)
  - 4 *Bandi* (ಬಂಡಿ)
  - 5 *Chendaru* (ಚೆಂದರು)
  - 6 *Dósari* (ದೋಸರಿ)
  - 7 *Gajjala* (ಗುಜ್ಜಲ)
  - 8 *Kampa* (ಕಂಪ)
  - 9 *Khúdrí* (ಖಾದ್ರಿ)
  - 10 *Lósari* (ಲೋಸರಿ)
  - 11 *Mallelu* (ಮಲ್ಲೆಲು)
  - 12 *Mandalu* (ಮಂಡಲು)
  - 13 *Maramánu* (ಮರಮಾನು)
  - 14 *Móta* (ಮೋಟ)
  - 15 *Penamadi* (ಪೆನಮಡಿ)
  - 16 *Pálu* (ಪಾಲ)
  - 17 *Pyárama* (ಪ್ಯಾರಾಮ)
  - 18 *Rámitaru* (ರಾಯಿತರು)
  - 19 *Uligutólu* (ಉಲಿಗುತೋಲು)
  - 20 *Uyyáhi* (ಉಯ್ಯಾಳಿ)
  - 21 *Vémudri* (ವೇಮುದ್ರಿ)
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## TIGALAS.

Tigala (ತಿಗಲ) is the Kannada term for a Tamil-speaking man. The caste that is known by that name call themselves *Vannéru* or *Vannikuladararu* (ವನ್ನೇರು ಅಥವಾ ವನ್ನಿ ಕುಲ ದವರು), the descendants of Vanni Raja, who, it is said, had five sons, the ancestors of the Vanniya caste. They form a population of 64,847, of whom 32,983 are men and 31,864 women. Tigalas.

The name *Vannéru* is derived from the Sanskrit *Vanhi*, fire, and there is a legend to explain the connection, which is similar to that of the rise of the Agnikulas from a sacrificial fire. In fact, these men say that they are descended from one of the Agnikula warriors. They call themselves the descendants of Agni Banniraya (ಅಗ್ನಿ ಬನ್ನಿರಾಯ). They are also known as the devotees of Dharmarāya, (ಧರ್ಮರಾಯನ ವಕ್ಟಲು), as they worship the eldest of the Pandava brothers, as their patron deity. Usually they are known as Tótada Tigalas (ತೋಟದತಿಗಳರು) as their chief profession is vegetable and other petty gardening, and as Arava or Tamil Reddis, or Pallis (*i.e.*, villagers). *Gaṇṇa* (ಗಣ) is the title of the headman of the caste and is exclusively borne by him. Their earliest home according to tradition is Kānchi-Puram (Conjeveram).

They talk either Kannada or Tamil. Those that talk Kannada are the earliest immigrants among them into this State, and they are found in Tumkur. Language.

There are two main endogamous divisions known respectively as *Uḷi* or *Kannada Tigala* (ಉಳ್ಳಿ ಅಥವಾ ಕನ್ನಡ ತಿಗಳರು) and *Arava Tigala* or *Dharmarāyana Vakkalu* (ಅರವ ತಿಗಳರು ಅಥವಾ ಧರ್ಮರಾಯನ ವಕ್ಟಲು). The latter includes some sub-divisions who are not pure Tigalas, and who are known as *Tondramallaru* (ತೊಂಡಮಲ್ಲರು), those born of a Tigala man and a Vakkaliga woman, *Agamudiyavaru* (ಅಗಮುಡಿಯವರು) or those born of a Tigala man and a woman of a different caste, *Kanjavara* or people of Conjeveram, *Vannigararu* (ವನ್ನಿಗರು) and *Yelē Tigala* (ಯಲೇತಿಗಳರು), those who grow betel-vine. Endogamous divisions.

*Ulli Tigalas* (Onion Tigalas) are said to have obtained this curious appellation for the following reason. A troupe of Dombars gave an acrobatic performance in a village, of which all except Tigalas were invited to witness the show. The latter felt insulted and in order to outdo the Dombars in their own profession, they constructed a pole by lashing together onion stalks and made ropes by twisting together the filaments of the same frail material, and surpassed the Dombars' feats of skill.

*Tondramalluru* are supposed to be inferior to the pure Arava Tigala and the Agamudis. They all eat together though intermarriages are prohibited.

Exogamous  
divisions.

The caste is broken up into a number of exogamous divisions each of which takes its name from a particular patron deity, the members believing that they are all connected by some sort of blood-relationship which distinguishes them from other divisions.\*

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Personal  
names.

The priests of Dharmarāya give their children the names of Arjuna, Bhima, Nakula, Sahadēva and Dharmarāya. There is no peculiarity in other names, those of gods, places or things being chosen just as in other castes. The following are some of the unusual names that have been given in this caste :—

*Males.*—Pullappa (ಪುಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Yarrappa (ಯರಪ್ಪ), Lanke (ಲಂಕೆ), Tumkūrayya (ತುಂಕೂರಯ್ಯ), Tambi (ತಂಬಿ), Hosahalli (ಹೊಸಹಳ್ಳಿ), Yatarāya (ಯತರಾಯ), Payatamma (ಪಯತಮ್ಮ), and Yā-gappa (ಯಾಗಪ್ಪ).

*Females.*—Hombāli (ಹೊಂಬಾಳಿ), Ananti (ಅನಂತಿ).

The Kannada section sometimes give opprobrious names to children born after loss of other children.

The class as a whole believe that the spirits of the children that died from any accident or from the bad treatment of the parents, tease the surviving children, and to avert such an evil they put on a talisman known as *Iragāra*—

\* The following are stated to be the names of exogamous groups :—

*Siddhēdēvara manātana* (ಸಿದ್ಧೇದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Lakshmidēvara manātana* (ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Yellamādēvara manātana* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Gile-araci Lakshmidēvara manātana* (ಗೋಳ ಅರವಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Isratimayyana Budakattu* (ಇಸ್ರತಿ ಶಿವಯ್ಯನ ಬಡಕಟ್ಟು), and *Beddē arasayyadēvara manātana* (ಬೆಡ್ಡೇರಸಯ್ಯದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ).

*gūdu* (ಅರಗುಗೂಡು), with some inscription in it round the neck of their children.

Adoption is recognised by the caste. It is not necessary that the boy to be adopted should belong to the same stock as the adopting father's. A sister's son or a son of the wife's sister can be adopted. The boy's status for marriage remains exactly as it was before adoption. The arrangement seems to be intended mainly to keep up the continuity of the family to which the boy is adopted. The adopted person is not prohibited from espousing the daughter of the adopting father in marriage. In some families, adopted children are not allowed to perform the funeral obsequies for their adopted parents. Adoption.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders in most cases. Boys are married generally after they are sixteen years of age. The bride need not necessarily be younger than the bridegroom. Exchange of daughters is recognised but discouraged on account of the superstition that one of the married couple meets with bad luck. It is common to take more than one wife; but there is no trace of polyandry and the idea strikes these men as revolting. Family descent is traced through males. Marriage is prohibited between two agnate cousins however remote their relationship may be. With regard to the other relations for marriage, there is no peculiarity in the caste. Two sisters may be taken as wives either simultaneously or at different times by a person or by two brothers. Marriage.

A girl is married generally not later than twelve. If the girl is already of the proper age, she begins to live with her husband after the lapse of the first Gauri festival after marriage. If the girl is yet too young, they wait till she attains her age of puberty before consummating the marriage. A woman is not compelled to marry at any cost. If she chooses to remain single, she need not undergo any mock marriage with trees or swords, or dedicate herself to any god.

If the stars corresponding to the names of the parties agree, a day is fixed and the boy's party with some married women come to the girl's house with cocoanuts, plantains, betel leaves and nuts and turmeric and *kunkuma* powder. The castemen are invited to be present, but the headman of the caste and the Gapáchari (ಗಪಾಚಾರಿ) need not be there necessarily. The foreman in the assembly moots the subject, and the maternal uncle of the girl gives the Marriage Ceremonies.

consent. This is said to be due to the preferential right the maternal uncle himself has to the hand of the girl. If a marriage is performed without such consent, a *pancháyati* is held on his complaint in the presence of the caste headman and the Gaṇáchari, and the delinquent is fined. Such cases are however rare. When the maternal uncle gives his consent, the promise between the contracting parties is ratified by the exchange of betel leaves and nuts and by the utterance of the words "The girl is ours, the boy is yours" or "The boy is ours and the girl is yours" on each side. The articles brought are then presented to the girl by her mother and relatives, and the day ends with a feast known as *Parupusádam* (ಪರುಪುಸಾದಂ or dhal and rice), as meat is not cooked on such occasions.

This ceremony binds the party of the girl to fulfil its contract, and a breach of it is met by a heavy fine imposed by the caste independently of any damage that may be recovered by action at law. On the night of this day the boy's relatives remain in the bride's house; and if any bad dreams occur, they would be considered as ill omens requiring the engagement to be broken off. Indeed they attach so much importance to omens, that after they reach home the next morning, they send information to the bride's house that no serpent crossed them on the way, and that while they were talking about the matter they did not hear any pots cracking or cats quarrelling.

The ceremony of marriage takes place in the bridegroom's house and lasts four days.

On the first day styled *Modularisina* (ಮೊದಲನಿನ, first turmeric), the boy's party with the usual accompaniments of fruits and two rupees in cash called *Madupu* (ಮದುವು earnest) go to the girl's house, where the Gaṇḍa and the Gaṇáchari will be awaiting their arrival, and these have to assure themselves that the correct amount of money is brought and then permit the other presents to be received. The girl is seated on a plank and presented with the articles; she is attired in the new clothes supplied by the bridegroom and then prostrates herself before the head of the caste.

The pandal is erected on the second day. It is supported by twelve posts of which one is of *Kallī* plant, being styled the milk post and said to be for ensuring continuity of the line. The milk post must be cut by either the maternal uncle of the girl or the girl's paternal aunt's son. In

their absence the *kólkar* or the beadle cuts the tree and brings it. It is wrapped round with a washed cloth dyed with turmeric; a *kankana* with a package containing nine kinds of grain (ಸವಧಾನ್ಯ) and a few coins, is tied round it; and it is planted in the middle of the pandal.

The bridegroom is brought in and besmeared with turmeric. In the evening the bride's party with the bride reach the village and halt at a temple. The bridegroom's party meet them there, and entertain them with drink.

Then the bridegroom's and the bride's parties together go out in a procession to get the vessels for the marriage known as *Avané* (ಐವಣಿ) from the priest's house at which the vessels have been kept decorated with drawings of chunam and red earth. The priest is paid one *hanna* (4 As. 8 p.) and the pots are taken to the marriage pandal and installed in a part of the house. Lamps are lighted with oil and wicks placed in earthen saucers brought with these vessels. They have to burn continuously during the remaining period of the marriage and it is considered a bad omen if they are allowed to go out.

The chief ceremony called *Muhúrta* takes place on the third day. The bride is smeared with turmeric powder by the bridegroom's party and the bridegroom by the bride's party, and a rice flour cake is waved before each to ward off the evil eye. The bridegroom gets shaved either really or nominally and the bride gets her nails pared. Then they bathe and dress themselves in their marriage attire. The bridegroom paints his forehead with a golden streak while the bride puts on a latitudinal red line of vermilion. The bridegroom goes to the temple with married ladies in a procession, in front of which his sister carries a box containing the presents to the bride. In the temple, after offering cocoanuts to the idol, the bridegroom is invested with a sacred string by the priest and then he and the bride sit on the marriage seat of planks. The *kólkar* ties the *kankana* to the pair. The various office-bearers of the caste and others present are given *támbúla*, and they all return to the marriage pandal.

The pair then knot together the little fingers of their right hands, over which their parents pour *Dháré* (i.e., pour milk) in small quantities through a funnel of betel-leaf held by the bridal pair. Garlands worn by them are then exchanged by the bride and bridegroom. After this



they both go to prostrate themselves before the sacred pots set up for *pūja*. On their way the bridegroom's sister bars the passage till he utters the name of his wife. He refuses and tries to get off by a promise of giving her a cow or some jewel or the first-born daughter in marriage to her son. Then follows the ceremony of thrusting the hand into a quantity of salt in a vessel.

On the fourth day the couple are taken in a procession to an ant-hill and earth is brought thence to make into balls and deposit them near the posts supporting the pandal. The posts are painted with the paste of red earth by the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom hands over the balls of earth to the bride who keeps them one by one at each pillar. Then they both go in a procession to a well with married women who carry the sacred pots called "*Airane*." The vessels are emptied of their contents in the well and are worshipped once more. In the meanwhile the bridegroom turns up some soil with a spade or a small plough, while the bride sows some paddy, or sometimes all the nine kinds of grain. A mock conversation goes on between the husband and the wife. The wife says "Husband, you seem to be tired after hard ploughing, take some food," and offers him food. The husband accepts but does not eat. Then the whole party turn back to the pandal, which is then dismantled.

**Tera.** The bride price or *tera* is one rupee and a half.

**Puberty.** There is no peculiarity in the ceremonies when a girl attains puberty except that the headman of the caste and others attend on the last day thereof. There is no regular ceremony for the consummation of marriage. The bridegroom or his parents present the bride with a new cloth, fruits, a *pān-supāri* bag and betel leaves and nuts in the presence of the elders of the caste. After two meals are over, the party of the husband take the girl to her husband in his house and the two can thenceforward live as husband and wife. It is stated that the bridegroom need not attend these feasts.

**Remarriage.** Marriage of widows is allowed, though as a matter of sentiment, they prefer a maid to a widow or a divorced woman for marrying. There is no rule that a particular number of days should intervene between the death of the husband and the remarriage, which, however, cannot take place during the first ten days after his death. Remarriage takes place in the widow's house. The headman,

his beadle and other castemen are invited. Married women, though they attend, do not take part in the ceremonies. The bride is helped by widows and marriage has to take place in the evenings only. The husband presents a *tāli* of gold and a new cloth to her. A widow is not allowed to marry her deceased husband's brother. But she may marry as many times as she chooses without thereby subjecting herself to any censure.

The *tera* is the same as for a virgin woman.

A woman may be divorced for adultery or for reasons such as want of harmony in the married life, in which latter case the parties may separate by common consent. When a woman has left her husband by divorce obtained from mere whim, she has to pay back his marriage expenses. An impotent husband can be divorced by his wife returning the *tāli* to him, and the woman can remarry after paying a fine of Rs. 3 given to the caste. If such a man does not consent to the dissolution, she has only to return her *tāli* to the Gaúda and Gayāchari in a caste assembly, after which she ceases to be his wife. Divorce.

A woman loses her caste if she misbehaves with any person of a different caste. A man may with impunity consort with any woman except that of a *punchama* caste, and the issue of such connections are nevertheless Tigalas. Adultery is compoundable by the payment of a small fine to the caste. In cases of adultery within the caste, a woman is merely chastised by her husband but does not lose her caste, in case she pays a small fine to the community. If a woman is turned out by her husband on account of adultery, the man who seduced her may keep her as his wife, paying a small fine to the husband. Sexual license is condoned if the girl marries the man subsequently, but the marriage is celebrated only in the inferior form of *kūḍike*. Adultery.

There is no trace of marriage by capture from other tribes.

When a man dies, his body is carried on a frame of *kaḷḷi* or bamboo, the pieces tied together with a rope of twisted straw. The body soon after being placed on the frame, is washed with warm water, anointed and cleaned with soap-nut. Dāsayyas come and repeat *Tirumantra* (ತಿರುಮಂತ್ರ). The body is then taken to the burial ground Death ceremonies.

the mourners accompanying it with the beating of drums and cymbals. There a stone is installed to represent Harischandra and worshipped. Then those that are the votaries of Siva place dishes of rice and water for the spirit. In the fringe of the cloth wrapped round the body, some rice is tied up apparently meant for the use of the spirit while on its way to the next world. When the body is lowered into the grave, some ashes are thrown over it, and the Gauda and Gaṇāchari each throw a handful of rice and then a shovel of earth over it. The body is then duly buried and two pies are placed over a corner of the grave, which the tōṭi or village watchman takes for himself, after touching the four corners of the grave with cakes of cowdung.

At the spot in the house where the person died, rice and water are kept for the spirit. As the principal mourner enters the house while returning from the place of sepulture, he rolls the vessel he has carried in his hand at the threshold and prostrates himself before the Gauda and Gaṇāchari, who offer their condolences.

On the 3rd, 5th and 12th days, they give food and water to the departed spirit. On the 12th day, the priest and the elders of the caste go to a tank and perform purificatory ceremonies. The principal mourner gets a shave. He fixes a stick in the earth to represent the dead soul, and funeral ceremonies are performed under the direction of a Brahman priest. Then the whole party go to a temple to get the doors of heaven opened for the departed soul.

The period of *Sātaka* (mourning) is twelve days for the death of adult persons and three days for that of children. The Vaishnavas observe five days for children.

During the first year they perform monthly ceremonies to propitiate the dead. In succeeding years the whole body of deceased ancestors are worshipped on the new-year's-day and the Mahālaya new-moon day.

Social  
habits.

Tigaḷas are persons of settled habits. They have divided themselves into sections by the tracts of country inhabited by them, each section called a *Kaṭṭemane* (ಕಟ್ಟಮನೆ) being under the jurisdiction of a headman or Gauda with a council of elders. The different *Kaṭṭemanes* are named after

## TIGALAS.

Tigala (ತಿಗಲ) is the Kannada term for a Tamil-speaking Tigalas. man. The caste that is known by that name call themselves *Vannéru* or *Vannikuladacaru* (ವನ್ನೇರು ಅಥವಾ ವನ್ನಿ ಕುಲ ದವರು), the descendants of Vanni Raja, who, it is said, had five sons, the ancestors of the Vanniya caste. They form a population of 64,847, of whom 32,983 are men and 31,864 women.

The name *Vannéru* is derived from the Sanskrit *Vanhi*, fire, and there is a legend to explain the connection, which is similar to that of the rise of the Agnikulas from a sacrificial fire. In fact, these men say that they are descended from one of the Agnikula warriors. They call themselves the descendants of Agni Banniraya (ಅಗ್ನಿ ಬನ್ನಿರಾಯ). They are also known as the devotees of Dharmarāya, (ಧರ್ಮರಾಯನ ವಕ್ತೃಲು), as they worship the eldest of the Pandava brothers, as their patron deity. Usually they are known as *Tōṭṭada Tigalas* (ತೊಟ್ಟದತಿಗಳರು) as their chief profession is vegetable and other petty gardening, and as *Arava* or *Tamil Reddis*, or *Pallis* (i.e., villagers). *Gauda* (ಗೌಡ) is the title of the headman of the caste and is exclusively borne by him. Their earliest home according to tradition is Kānchi-Puram (Conjeveram).

They talk either Kannada or Tamil. Those that talk Kannada are the earliest immigrants among them into this State, and they are found in Tumkur. Language.

There are two main endogamous divisions known respectively as *Uṇi* or *Kannada Tigala* (ಉಣಿ ಅಥವಾ ಕನ್ನಡ ತಿಗಳರು) and *Arava Tigala* or *Dharmarāyana Vakkala* (ಅರವ ತಿಗಳರು ಅಥವಾ ಧರ್ಮರಾಯನ ವಕ್ತೃಲು). The latter includes some sub-divisions who are not pure Tigalas, and who are known as *Tondramallaru* (ತೊಂಡಮಲ್ಲರು), those born of a Tigala man and a Vakkaliga woman, *Agamudiyavaru* (ಅಗಮುಡಿಯವರು) or those born of a Tigala man and a woman of a different caste, *Kanjavara* or people of Conjeveram, *Vannigaru* (ವನ್ನಿ ಗರು) and *Yelē Tigala* (ಯಲೇತಿಗಳರು), those who grow betel-vine. Endogamous divisions.

*Ulli Tigalas* (Onion Tigalas) are said to have obtained this curious appellation for the following reason. A troupe of Dombars gave an acrobatic performance in a village, of which all except Tigalas were invited to witness the show. The latter felt insulted and in order to outdo the Dombars in their own profession, they constructed a pole by lashing together onion stalks and made ropes by twisting together the filaments of the same frail material, and surpassed the Dombars' feats of skill.

*Tondramallaru* are supposed to be inferior to the pure Arava Tigala and the Agamudis. They all eat together though intermarriages are prohibited.

Exogamous divisions.

The caste is broken up into a number of exogamous divisions each of which takes its name from a particular patron deity, the members believing that they are all connected by some sort of blood-relationship which distinguishes them from other divisions.\*

They have no hypergamous divisions.

Personal names.

The priests of Dharmarāya give their children the names of Arjuna, Bhima, Nakula, Sahadēva and Dharmarāya. There is no peculiarity in other names, those of gods, places or things being chosen just as in other castes. The following are some of the unusual names that have been given in this caste :—

*Males*.—Pullappa (ಪುಲ್ಲಪ್ಪ), Yarrappa (ಯರಪ್ಪ), Lanke (ಲಂಕೆ), Tunkūrayya (ತುಂಕೂರಯ್ಯ), Tambi (ತಂಬಿ), Hosahalli (ಹೊಸಹಳ್ಳಿ), Yatarāya (ಯತರಾಯ), Payatanna (ಪಯತನ್ನ), and Yā-gappa (ಯಾಗಪ್ಪ).

*Females*.—Hombāli (ಹೊಂಬಾಳಿ), Ananti (ಅನಂತಿ).

The Kannada section sometimes give opprobrious names to children born after loss of other children.

The class as a whole believe that the spirits of the children that died from any accident or from the bad treatment of the parents, tease the surviving children, and to avert such an evil they put on a talisman known as *Iragara*—

\* The following are stated to be the names of exogamous groups :—

*Siddhēvara manētana* (ಸಿದ್ಧೇದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Lakshmīdēvara manētana* (ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Yellammadēvara manētana* (ಯಲ್ಲಮ್ಮದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Gile-aravi Lakshmīdēvara manētana* (ಗೊಳಿ ಅರವಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ), *Indratimmayyana Budakattu* (ಇಂದ್ರ ತಿಮ್ಮಯ್ಯನ ಬುಡಕಟ್ಟು), and *Deḍḍa urasayyadēvara manētana* (ದೊಡ್ಡ ನರಸಯ್ಯದೇವರ ಮನೆತನ).

*Jūdu* (ಕುಡು), with some inscription in it round the neck of their children.

Adoption is recognised by the caste. It is not necessary that the boy to be adopted should belong to the same stock as the adopting father's. A sister's son or a son of the wife's sister can be adopted. The boy's status for marriage remains exactly as it was before adoption. The arrangement seems to be intended mainly to keep up the continuity of the family to which the boy is adopted. The adopted person is not prohibited from espousing the daughter of the adopting father in marriage. In some families, adopted children are not allowed to perform the funeral obsequies for their adopted parents. Adoption.

Marriages are arranged by the parents or other elders in most cases. Boys are married generally after they are sixteen years of age. The bride need not necessarily be younger than the bridegroom. Exchange of daughters is recognised but discouraged on account of the superstition that one of the married couple meets with bad luck. It is common to take more than one wife; but there is no trace of polyandry and the idea strikes these men as revolting. Family descent is traced through males. Marriage is prohibited between two agnate cousins however remote their relationship may be. With regard to the other relations for marriage, there is no peculiarity in the caste. Two sisters may be taken as wives either simultaneously or at different times by a person or by two brothers. Marriage.

A girl is married generally not later than twelve. If the girl is already of the proper age, she begins to live with her husband after the lapse of the first Gauri festival after marriage. If the girl is yet too young, they wait till she attains her age of puberty before consummating the marriage. A woman is not compelled to marry at any cost. If she chooses to remain single, she need not undergo any mock marriage with trees or swords, or dedicate herself to any god.

If the stars corresponding to the names of the parties agree, a day is fixed and the boy's party with some married women come to the girl's house with cocoanuts, plantains, betel leaves and nuts and turmeric and *kunkuma* powder. The castemen are invited to be present, but the headman of the caste and the Ganáchari (ಗಣಾಚಾರಿ) need not be there necessarily. The foreman in the assembly moots the subject, and the maternal uncle of the girl gives the Marriage Ceremonies.

consent. This is said to be due to the preferential right the maternal uncle himself has to the hand of the girl. If a marriage is performed without such consent, a *panchdyati* is held on his complaint in the presence of the caste headman and the *Gaṇāchari*, and the delinquent is fined. Such cases are however rare. When the maternal uncle gives his consent, the promise between the contracting parties is ratified by the exchange of betel leaves and nuts and by the utterance of the words "The girl is ours, the boy is yours" or "The boy is ours and the girl is yours" on each side. The articles brought are then presented to the girl by her mother and relatives, and the day ends with a feast known as *Parupusādam* (ಪರುಪುಸಾದಂ or dhal and rice), as meat is not cooked on such occasions.

This ceremony binds the party of the girl to fulfil its contract, and a breach of it is met by a heavy fine imposed by the caste independently of any damage that may be recovered by action at law. On the night of this day the boy's relatives remain in the bride's house; and if any bad dreams occur, they would be considered as ill omens requiring the engagement to be broken off. Indeed they attach so much importance to omens, that after they reach home the next morning, they send information to the bride's house that no serpent crossed them on the way, and that while they were talking about the matter they did not hear any pots crackling or cats quarrelling.

The ceremony of marriage takes place in the bridegroom's house and lasts four days.

On the first day styled *Modularisina* (ಮೊದಲನಿನ, first turmeric), the boy's party with the usual accompaniments of fruits and two rupees in cash called *Madupu* (ಮದುವೆ) earnest) go to the girl's house, where the *Gauḍa* and the *Gaṇāchari* will be awaiting their arrival, and these have to assure themselves that the correct amount of money is brought and then permit the other presents to be received. The girl is seated on a plank and presented with the articles; she is attired in the new clothes supplied by the bridegroom and then prostrates herself before the head of the caste.

The pandal is erected on the second day. It is supported by twelve posts of which one is of *Kaṇṇi* plant, being styled the milk post and said to be for ensuring continuity of the line. The milk post must be cut by either the maternal uncle of the girl or the girl's paternal aunt's son. In

their absence the *kólkār* or the beadle cuts the tree and brings it. It is wrapped round with a washed cloth dyed with turmeric; a *kankāna* with a package containing nine kinds of grain (ನವಧಾನ್ಯ) and a few coins, is tied round it; and it is planted in the middle of the pandal.

The bridegroom is brought in and besmeared with turmeric. In the evening the bride's party with the bride reach the village and halt at a temple. The bridegroom's party meet them there, and entertain them with drink.

Then the bridegroom's and the bride's parties together go out in a procession to get the vessels for the marriage known as *Aliraṇ'* (ಐರಣಿ) from the priest's house at which the vessels have been kept decorated with drawings of chunam and red earth. The priest is paid one *huna* (4 As. 8 p.) and the pots are taken to the marriage pandal and installed in a part of the house. Lamps are lighted with oil and wicks placed in earthen saucers brought with these vessels. They have to burn continuously during the remaining period of the marriage and it is considered a bad omen if they are allowed to go out.

The chief ceremony called *Muhūrta* takes place on the third day. The bride is smeared with turmeric powder by the bridegroom's party and the bridegroom by the bride's party, and a rice flour cake is waved before each to ward off the evil eye. The bridegroom gets shaved either really or nominally and the bride gets her nails pared. Then they bathe and dress themselves in their marriage attire. The bridegroom paints his forehead with a golden streak while the bride puts on a latitudinal red line of vermilion. The bridegroom goes to the temple with married ladies in a procession, in front of which his sister carries a box containing the presents to the bride. In the temple, after offering cocoanuts to the idol, the bridegroom is invested with a sacred string by the priest and then he and the bride sit on the marriage seat of planks. The *kólkār* ties the *kankāna* to the pair. The various office-bearers of the caste and others present are given *tāmbūla*, and they all return to the marriage pandal.

The pair then knot together the little fingers of their right hands, over which their parents pour *Dhātré* (i.e., pour milk) in small quantities through a funnel of betel-leaf held by the bridal pair. Garlands worn by them are then exchanged by the bride and bridegroom. After this



they both go to prostrate themselves before the sacred pots set up for *pūja*. On their way the bridegroom's sisters bars the passage till he utters the name of his wife. He refuses and tries to get off by a promise of giving her a cow or some jewel or the first-born daughter in marriage to her son. Then follows the ceremony of thrusting the hand into a quantity of salt in a vessel.

On the fourth day the couple are taken in a procession to an ant-hill and earth is brought thence to make into balls and deposit them near the posts supporting the pandal. The posts are painted with the paste of red earth by the bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom hands over the balls of earth to the bride who keeps them one by one at each pillar. Then they both go in a procession to a well with married women who carry the sacred pots called "*Airane*." The vessels are emptied of their contents in the well and are worshipped once more. In the meanwhile the bridegroom turns up some soil with a spade or a small plough, while the bride sows some paddy, or sometimes all the nine kinds of grain. A mock conversation goes on between the husband and the wife. The wife says "Husband, you seem to be tired after hard ploughing, take some food," and offers him food. The husband accepts but does not eat. Then the whole party turn back to the pandal, which is then dismantled.

**Tera.** The bride price or *tera* is one rupee and a half.

**Puberty.** There is no peculiarity in the ceremonies when a girl attains puberty except that the headman of the caste and others attend on the last day thereof. There is no regular ceremony for the consummation of marriage. The bridegroom or his parents present the bride with a new cloth, fruits, a *pūn-supāri* bag and betel leaves and nuts in the presence of the elders of the caste. After two meals are over, the party of the husband take the girl to her husband in his house and the two can thenceforward live as husband and wife. It is stated that the bridegroom need not attend these feasts.

**Remarriage** Marriage of widows is allowed, though as a matter of sentiment, they prefer a maid to a widow or a divorced woman for marrying. There is no rule that a particular number of days should intervene between the death of the husband and the remarriage, which, however, cannot take place during the first ten days after his death. Remarriage takes place in the widow's house. The headman,

his beadle and other castemen are invited. Married women, though they attend, do not take part in the ceremonies. The bride is helped by widows and marriage has to take place in the evenings only. The husband presents a *tāḍi* of gold and a new cloth to her. A widow is not allowed to marry her deceased husband's brother. But she may marry as many times as she chooses without thereby subjecting herself to any censure.

The *tera* is the same as for a virgin woman.

A woman may be divorced for adultery or for reasons such as want of harmony in the married life, in which latter case the parties may separate by common consent. When a woman has left her husband by divorce obtained from mere whim, she has to pay back his marriage expenses. An impotent husband can be divorced by his wife returning the *tāḍi* to him, and the woman can remarry after paying a fine of Rs. 3 given to the caste. If such a man does not consent to the dissolution, she has only to return her *tāḍi* to the Gaūḍa and Gaṇāchari in a caste assembly, after which she ceases to be his wife. Divorce.

A woman loses her caste if she misbehaves with any person of a different caste. A man may with impunity consort with any woman except that of a *punchama* caste, and the issue of such connections are nevertheless Tīgaḷas. Adultery is compoundable by the payment of a small fine to the caste. In cases of adultery within the caste, a woman is merely chastised by her husband but does not lose her caste, in case she pays a small fine to the community. If a woman is turned out by her husband on account of adultery, the man who seduced her may keep her as his wife, paying a small fine to the husband. Sexual license is condoned if the girl marries the man subsequently, but the marriage is celebrated only in the inferior form of *kūḍike*. Adultery.

There is no trace of marriage by capture from other tribes.

When a man dies, his body is carried on a frame of *kaḷḷi* or bamboo, the pieces tied together with a rope of twisted straw. The body soon after being placed on the frame, is washed with warm water, anointed and cleaned with soap-nut. Dāsaiyyas come and repeat *Tirumantra* (ತಿರುಮಂತ್ರ). The body is then taken to the burial ground Death ceremonies.

the mourners accompanying it with the beating of drums and cymbals. There a stone is installed to represent Harischandra and worshipped. Then those that are the votaries of Siva place dishes of rice and water for the spirit. In the fringe of the cloth wrapped round the body, some rice is tied up apparently meant for the use of the spirit while on its way to the next world. When the body is lowered into the grave, some ashes are thrown over it, and the Gauda and Ganāchari each throw a handful of rice and then a shovel of earth over it. The body is then duly buried and two pies are placed over a corner of the grave, which the tōṭi or village watchman takes for himself, after touching the four corners of the grave with cakes of cow-dung.

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#### Social habits.

Tigalas are persons of settled habits. They have divided themselves into sections by the tracts of country inhabited by them, each section called a *Kattemane* (ಕಟ್ಟಿಮನೆ) being under the jurisdiction of a headman or Gauda with a council of elders. The different *Kattemanes* are named after





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## SÁLE.

Sále (ಸಾಲೆ) is a general term applied to a group of Name and castes who are connected with weaving as their profession. origin. It comes from the Sanskrit *Sálíka* (weaver) and its Kanna-da equivalent is *Néyige* (ನೇಯಿಗ), which name is sometimes applied to them. The term Setti is used as a title besides the usual honorific terms of *Appa* (ಅಪ್ಪ) and *Ayya* (ಅಯ್ಯ) for males and *Amma* (ಅಮ್ಮ) and *Akka* (ಅಕ್ಕ) for females. Some learned in the rules guiding their society have recently adopted the title of *Sástri* (ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿ), that is, learned in the *Sástras*, but this is by no means common.

To account for their origin it is given out that in order to clothe the nakedness of people in the world, Siva commissioned Markandeya to perform a sacrifice, and one Bhávana Rishi came out of the holy fire, holding a lotus flower (*padma* ಪದ್ಮ) in his hand. He married two wives Prasannávatí and Bhadrávatí, daughters of Súrya (the Sun) and had a hundred and one sons, who all took to weaving cloth out of the fibre of the lotus flower for men to wear, and became the progenitors of the one hundred and one gótras of this caste. God Surya being pleased with what they did gave them a fifth Veda called *Padma Védá* (ಪದ್ಮವೇದ); and so men of this caste give out that they belong to *Padma Sákha* and *Markandéya Sutra*, analogous to the *sakhas*, *sutras* and *gotras* of the *Brahmans*.

They profess to have been following all the religious rites prescribed for *Brahmans*, till in the beginning of the *Kali* age, one of their caste named *Padmaksha* declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which *Brahma* had given to their caste, to *Ganapati* who sought to learn the secret which they had been enjoined to keep, and who on his wish not being gratified cursed them to fall from their high status. It is said however that one *Parabrahmamúrthi* born in *Sríráma Agrahara* pleased *Ganapati* by his *tapas*,

and got the curse removed, so that after 5000 years of the kali-yuga, they should regain their lost position. This Parabrahmamūrti otherwise known as Padmabhavācharyā, it is said, redistributed the caste into ninety-six gotras arranged in eight groups, and established four Mathās with gurus for them.

The age and origin of this story cannot be ascertained. It may have been meant to explain the name Padmasāle given to them; and many of these castes have been busy since the advent of the Census in discovering their long-lost pedigrees.\*

They have a tradition which says that they emigrated from Vijayanagar territory, in particular from Hampe, the head-quarters of that empire, during the time of Kempe Gauda.

#### Language

Persons of the Padmasāle section speak Telugu and those of Pattusāle and Sakunasāle speak Kannada. Such of them, however, as, live in the purely Telugu or the purely Kannada parts of the State speak the language prevalent therein.

#### Divisions.

In this category are included a number of tribes who eat with one another but are not allowed to intermarry. They form a population numbering 11,000. The principal of them are :—

|                         |    |             |
|-------------------------|----|-------------|
| <i>Padmasāle</i>        | .. | (ಪದ್ಮಸಾಲೆ)  |
| <i>Pattusāle</i> (silk) | .. | (ಪಟ್ಟುಸಾಲೆ) |
| <i>Sakunasāle</i>       | .. | (ಕುನಸಾಲೆ)   |

The origin of these sub-divisions is not clear. All of them have a common tradition concerning their descent from Markandēya, the weaver of the gods. Bhāvana Rishi is believed to be the man who invented weaving. *Padmasāle* is the most important division. *Pattusāle*, corrupted into *Padusāle*, are the people who weave silk cloths. Most of them have been converted into Lingayatism. The *Sakunasāles* seem to be later immigrants, and the meaning of the term is not known.

\* Mr. Stuart has the following note as regards the origin of the caste :— "They claim to be the descendants of the sage named Mri-kanda, the weaver of the gods. Their original house appears to have been the Andhra country from whence a section of the Saliyas was invited by the Chōla king, Rajaraja I., after the union of the Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties". Census Report of Madras for 1891, p. 285.

The Lingayats of this community say that "the whole Sâle formerly wore the *Linga*; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the *Linga* and offered up their supplications to Vishnu, they succeeded in expelling the enemy; and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god, in which they have been imitated by many of their brethern."\* The men that so separated themselves are said to be *Padmasâles*. It is however more likely that the Lingayats are the persons that separated from the main body.

The caste is further divided into a number of exogamous divisions, denoted by family names, with which are associated also the names of some Rishis. There are a hundred and one of such different families; some bear names of familiar objects, but it is difficult to find out the signification of many names. A list of the family names is given in the appendix.

There are no hypergamous divisions in the caste.

When the wife is pregnant, the husband is not allowed to carry a dead body or to take part in building a house. The ceremonies observed after birth are the same as in other castes of similar standing. The Lingayats invite the Jangama priest to tie a *Linga* to the child. On the sixth day, a spot in the house is washed with cow-dung, and an eight-sided figure is drawn on it with *Vibhûti* powder, at each corner of which a *tâmbûla* and *dukshane* are kept. The father of the child then worships a *Linga*, washing it with sugar, honey, milk and ghee. The Jangama repeats *mantras*. A *Linga* is then tied to the child's arm, with a thread composed of one hundred and eight lines twisted together. Then the priest touches the child with the toe of his right foot and hands it over to the mother.

Birth ceremonies.

Among the other sections of the caste, the child and the mother are bathed on the eleventh day, and a caste dinner is given and in the night married women are invited, who put the child in the cradle after *pûja* to a *Pillâri* (cow-dung cone) meant to represent God Ganésa. A round stone is first put into the cradle and rocked to

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\* Buchanau's Journey through Mysore, Vol. I., p. 178.

the tune of songs; it is then removed and the child is put into the cradle.\*

The Lingayats generally give names after Siva, while the non-Lingayat portion adopt the names of both Vishnu and Siva. As in other castes, the names of the deceased ancestors of the family are adopted and in villages, the consulting of a soothsayer for suggesting an appropriate name is not uncommon.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is practised. The adopted boy must come from the same *gōtra* as the adoptive father's. A sister's son cannot be adopted. The boy taken in adoption is prohibited from marrying in the exogamous division of both the families. A boy cannot be adopted after he has married. The ceremony observed is that the natural parents hand over the boy to the adopting parents formally before an assembly of the castemen, after previously taking off his waist thread. Generally he is given a new name. A general dinner is then given, and the natural parents are presented with some clothes by the adoptive father.

#### Marriage.

Marriages are generally infant, but adult marriages may take place. No sort of penalty is imposed if the girl is not married before the age of puberty. They have no system of marrying their girls to swords, trees or dedicating them to temples.

Girls are married generally between ten and twelve years of age. There seems to be no serious harm if a woman remains unmarried all her life, but it appears that such a case has not been actually heard of.

After marriage, the girl remains with her parents until the marriage is consummated after puberty. The consummation of marriage may take place any day within sixteen days after the first signs of puberty. But if it is postponed, they have to select some auspicious day according to the positions of the stars. Marriages are arranged for and brought about by the parents of the parties or other elders. Exchange of daughters is permitted, but it is not popular owing to the belief that one couple prospers while the other fails. Polygamous marriages are allowed but monogamy is the rule. Polyandry is unknown.

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\* The idea of introducing a stone as a child in such ceremonies seems to be to symbolise a wish that the real child should be as strong and as long-lived as such an object.

As regards the selection of brides, they choose by preference either an elder sister's or a paternal uncle's or a maternal uncle's daughter. Padmasáles do not marry their younger sister's daughter. The rest of the sub-divisions have no such restriction. A man may marry two sisters at different times, and it is said that a wife's sister cannot be married when the wife is alive. Two brothers may take in marriage two sisters, the elder marrying the elder, the younger the younger sister.

Some days, it may be months, before a marriage, the preliminary agreement called *Vakkaku Sástra* (the ceremony of betel-nuts) takes place, in the presence of the village elders. The bridegroom's father goes to the bride's house and expresses his desire to take the girl in marriage for his son, and they exchange *tambúlas* as a token of consent, and the village officers, the astrologer and others assembled are given *tambúlas* as witnesses.

It is said that the promise so made is irrevocable and its breaking entails the displeasure of the caste people, who impose a fine in consequence. But the occurrence of an ill omen or other event supposed to be token divine disapproval is regarded as a sufficient excuse for breaking it, and the other party can only ask to be compensated for any loss sustained.

The marriage ceremonies last for four days. The first day is known as God's feast or entertainment in honor of ancestors, analogous to *Nándi-Sráddha* among Brahmans. In the evening of that day, a marriage pandal is set up with either a *Páricúla* (ಪಾರಿವಾಳ) or a *Rajimánu* (ರಾಗಿಮಾನು peepul tree) branch, for the *milkpost*. This twig has to be brought by the maternal uncle of the girl who gets a present of a *hana* (4 As. 8 p.) for his trouble.

On the second day, the bridegroom puts on the sacred thread before the marriage proper. The ceremonies observed this day are the same as in other castes. Among some Sáles, the bridegroom, leaves the house feigning anger and sits in a temple. A procession, from the bride's house with a mock bride, a boy disguised as a bride, goes to him and brings him to the marriage pandal, after which the other ceremonies take place. A Brahman Purohit or a Jangama repeats some lucky verses (ಮಂತ್ರೋಪದೇಶಗಳು) and makes the bridegroom tie the *táli* to the bride. Then *dháre* and the *kankana*-tying take place. The couple retire into the house holding each other by the hand and going round the milk



post. They have a general dinner for the caste, and the couple sit to eat out of a common plate (*bhūma*, ಬೂಮ). The tying of the *tāli* to the bride by the bridegroom and the pouring of milk into the closed hands of the bride and bridegroom by the priest and the elders of the caste are the essential portions of the ceremony.

The last day called *Nāgavali* (ನಾಗವಲಿ) is dedicated to the worship of the ant-hill and the carrying of earth therefrom, and the removal of the marriage pandal.

The presence of a Brahman priest is not indispensable but in most cases he is called in to offer certain invocations at the time. The bride price in this caste is Rs. 25. A widower is not required to pay anything higher for his second marriage.

**Puberty.**

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure for three days and is kept in a shed of green leaves. In the evening the usual congregations of the married women are held and the distribution to them of turmeric, kun-kuma and *pansupari* takes place. The girl is bathed on the fourth day and is admitted into the house. From the sixth day, the relatives of the girl including the parents of her husband give her presents doing what is known as *Osiyé* (ಒಸಿಗೆ) to her. If the girl is already married, the consummation of the marriage takes place if possible before the 16th day; but in the case of girls who are married after puberty, some time is allowed to elapse before the consummation comes off.

**Widow marriage and divorce.**

Widow marriage is not allowed. A wife guilty of adultery may be divorced, but divorced woman cannot remarry.

**Adultery.**

Adultery is looked upon with severity but is compoundable with a fine levied upon the culprits. Part of the fine goes towards the worship of their patron deity.

Sexual license before marriage is not tolerated and subsequent marriage with a lover though of the same caste is not recognized as condoning such fault. They have no traditions regarding capture of wives from other tribes.

**Death ceremonies.**

They bury the dead with the head turned towards the South. During *Sutaka* (pollution) for the dead, they abstain from sweets and milk; and do not perform any auspicious ceremonies or take part in festive or other social gather-

ings. The Lingayat Sâles carry<sup>1</sup> dead bodies in a *vimâna* (ವಿಮಾನ) and bury it in a sitting posture. They observe no pollution. But among the non-Lingayat Sâles the agnates observe pollution for 12 days for the death of adults, three days for the death of children and of a daughter's son. They do not perform *Kâlasrâtha*, but on the Mahalaya day, they give presents to Brahmans of uncooked provisions with some money known as *ede* (ಎಡೆ) and they offer *tarpana* (libations) of water to the deceased ancestors.

They do not take outsiders into their caste.

They profess to be vegetarian in food and to eschew spirituous liquors, but it is not unusual for them to indulge in both with the connivance of their fellow castemen. Their chief profession is weaving with the allied one of dyeing. Many are also merchants, jewellers, carpenters or other skilled artisans. A very few follow agriculture. The learned professions are hardly represented among them though many of them know how to read and write.

General  
character-  
istics.

The members of the caste follow the Hindu Law of inheritance. The decisions of their tribal councils in the matter of property are respected but are not binding. They have no trials by ordeal; an oath taken in a temple is of course considered to be a greater safeguard than usual that the witness is speaking the truth.

Inheritance

The caste contains worshippers of both Siva and Vishnu who are to be distinguished by the different marks on the forehead. The goddess of their special cult is Chaudesvari, which is a sylvan deity located in groves. They also worship all the village gods. There is nothing peculiar with them regarding the worship of the inanimate objects and in the superstitious beliefs regarding the spirits surviving death and their powers for good and evil over human beings.

Religion

Their belief in sorcery, oracles, etc., is similar to those of Komatis and other tribes.

## APPENDIX.

| Family name.                  | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru.   | Meaning of term.   |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Bāṇu</i><br>(ಬಾಣು)         | Purisha Rishi<br>(ಪುರುಷಯುಷಿ) |                    |
| <i>Battini</i><br>(ಬತ್ತಿನಿ)   | Suka<br>(ಸುಕ)                |                    |
| <i>Bandi</i><br>(ಬಂದಿ)        | Twashtru<br>(ತ್ವಷ್ಟ್ರ)       | Cart               |
| <i>Bussa</i><br>(ಬುಸ್ಸ)       | Mrikandeya<br>(ಮೃಕಂಡೇಯ)      |                    |
| <i>Bandara</i><br>(ಬಂಡಾರ)     | Vidhu<br>(ವಿಧು)              |                    |
| <i>Bāku</i><br>(ಬಾಕು)         | Saunaka<br>(ಸೌನಕ)            | Dagger             |
| <i>Bōdā</i><br>(ಬೋಡಾ)         | Mānasvi<br>(ಮಾನಸ್ವಿ)         |                    |
| <i>Bajja</i><br>(ಬಜ್ಜ)        | Sindhū<br>(ಸಿಂಧು)            |                    |
| <i>Balabhadra</i><br>(ಬಲಭದ್ರ) | Pāchvin<br>(ಪಾಚ್ವಿನ್)        |                    |
| <i>Bhēri</i><br>(ಭೇರಿ)        | Jhareela<br>(ಜ್ಹಾರೀಲ)        | Drum               |
| <i>Betta</i><br>(ಬೆಟ್ಟ)       | Vakava<br>(ವಕವ)              | Mountain           |
| <i>Bhōga</i><br>(ಭೋಗಾ)        | Rishidhara<br>(ರಷಿಧರ)        |                    |
| <i>Byramuri</i><br>(ಬೈರಮುರಿ)  | Pranhiva<br>(ಪ್ರಾಂಚಿವ)       |                    |
| <i>Bhāma</i><br>(ಭಾಮ)         | Vrisha<br>(ವೃಷ)              |                    |
| <i>Bandāri</i><br>(ಬಂಡಾರಿ)    | Ambarisha<br>(ಅಂಬರೀಷ)        | Temple servant     |
| <i>Charugu</i><br>(ಚರುಗು)     | Narada<br>(ನಾರದ)             | Hem of the garment |

| Family name.                         | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru.  | Meaning of term.                   |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Chakka</i><br>(ಚಕ್ರ)              | Válakhilya<br>(ವಾಲಖಿಲ್ಯ)    | Bark                               |
| <i>Chappa</i><br>(ಚಪ್ಪ)              | Mandavya<br>(ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ)       |                                    |
| <i>Chiruvélu</i><br>(ಚಿರುವೇಲು)       | Vasishtha<br>(ವಸಿಷ್ಠ)       |                                    |
| <i>Chettalu</i><br>(ಚೆಟ್ಟಲು)         | Agastya<br>(ಅಗಸ್ತ್ಯ)        |                                    |
| <i>Cheppir</i><br>(ಚೆಪ್ಪಿರು)         | Gowtama<br>(ಗೌತಮ)           |                                    |
| <i>Chanu</i><br>(ಚೆನ್ನ)              | Dhananjaya<br>(ಧನಂಜಯ)       |                                    |
| <i>Chintaginjala</i><br>(ಚಿಂತಗಿಂಜಲು) | Swayambu<br>(ಸ್ವಯಂಭು)       | Tamarind seed                      |
| <i>Déraredði</i><br>(ದೇವರಡ್ಡಿ)       | Daksha<br>(ದಕ್ಷ)            |                                    |
| <i>Dharmáram</i><br>(ಧರ್ಮಾರಂ)        | Brahmarishi<br>(ಬ್ರಹ್ಮರುಷಿ) | Name of a place                    |
| <i>Diddi</i><br>(ದಿಡ್ಡಿ)             | Madhurishi<br>(ಮಧುರುಷಿ)     |                                    |
| <i>Durga</i><br>(ದುರ್ಗ)              | Sramsí<br>(ಸ್ರಾಮಿ)          | Fortress or hill fort              |
| <i>Gaddamu</i><br>(ಗಡ್ಡಮು)           | Koundilya<br>(ಕೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)     | Chin                               |
| <i>Góllu</i><br>(ಗೋಲ್ಪು)             | Srivatsa<br>(ಶ್ರೀವತ್ಸ) +    | Nail                               |
| <i>Gópi</i><br>(ಗೋಪಿ)                | Vyása<br>(ವ್ಯಾಸ)            | A kind of earth of<br>yellow color |
| <i>Gujjári</i><br>(ಗುಜ್ಜಾರಿ)         | Kousila<br>(ಕೌಸಿಲ)          | Dwarf                              |
| <i>Gundalu</i><br>(ಗುಂಡಲು)           | Digvása<br>(ದಿಗ್ವಾಸ)        |                                    |
| <i>Gurramu</i><br>(ಗುರ್ರಮು)          | Paundrika<br>(ಪೌಂದ್ರಿಕ)     | Horse                              |

| Family name.                       | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru. | Meaning of term. |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Gòranṅlu</i><br>(ಗೋರಂಱು)        | Kutsa<br>(ಕುತ್ಸ)           | A kind of plant  |
| <i>Janaga</i><br>(ಜನಗ)             |                            |                  |
| <i>Ganchigudlu</i><br>(ಗಂಜಿಗುಡ್ಲು) | Puttarishi<br>(ಪುತ್ತರುಷಿ)  |                  |
| <i>Guvvulu</i><br>(ಗುವ್ವಲು)        | Bhārathi<br>(ಭಾರತಿ)        | Sparrows         |
| <i>Gājulu</i><br>(ಗಾಜಲು)           |                            |                  |
| <i>Jinka</i><br>(ಜಿಂಕ)             | Méshajatha<br>(ಮೇಷಜಠೆ)     | A deer           |
| <i>Kandālam</i><br>(ಕಂದಾಳಂ)        | Ruruksha<br>(ರುರುಕ್ಷ)      |                  |
| <i>Kāyatti</i><br>(ಕಾಯತ್ತಿ)        | Sādu<br>(ಸಾದು)             |                  |
| <i>Kanijepalle</i><br>(ಕಣಿಜೇಪಲ್ಲಿ) | Pulastya<br>(ಪುಲಸ್ತ್ಯ)     | Name of a place  |
| <i>Kenchu</i><br>(ಕೆಂಚು)           | Sutīsha<br>(ಸುತೀಷ)         |                  |
| <i>Kuppa</i><br>(ಕುಪ್ಪ)            | Pururusha<br>(ಪುರುರುಷ)     | Manure heap      |
| <i>Kyātha</i><br>(ಕ್ಯಾಠಾ)          | Yadurishi<br>(ಯದುರುಷಿ)     |                  |
| <i>Karipili</i><br>(ಕರಿಪಿಲಿ)       | Upēndra<br>(ಉಪೇಂದ್ರ)       |                  |
| <i>Kongatti</i><br>(ಕೊಂಗತ್ತಿ)      | Gārgēya<br>(ಗಾರ್ಗೇಯ)       |                  |
| <i>Kōta</i><br>(ಕೋಟಾ)              | Kapili<br>(ಕಪಿಲಿ)          |                  |
| <i>Kyābarēsi</i><br>(ಕ್ಯಾಬರೇಸಿ)    | Kundali<br>(ಕುಂದಲಿ)        |                  |
| <i>Kōsulu</i><br>(ಕೋಸಲು)           | Vēdatamma<br>(ವೇದತಮ)       |                  |

| Family name.   | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru. | Meaning of term. |
|--|----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Kokku</i><br>(ಕೊಕ್ಕು)                                     | Pravrisha<br>(ಪ್ರವೃಷ)      | Bandicoot        |
| <i>Makam</i><br>(ಮಕಂ)  | Sukirthi<br>(ಸುಕೀರ್ತಿ)     |                  |
| <i>Māncharlu</i><br>(ಮಾಂಚರ್ಲ)                                | Vurahvasa<br>(ವೃಧ್ವಸ)      |                  |
| <i>Myadam</i><br>(ಮೇಡಂ)                                      | Vurjiswa<br>(ವೃಜೀಸ್ವ)      |                  |
| <i>Munagapati</i><br>(ಮುನಗಪಾಟ)                               | Punyava<br>(ಪುಣ್ಯವ)        | Drumstick        |
| <i>Myakala</i><br>(ಮೇಕಲ)                                     | Sutala<br>(ಸೂತ)            | Goat             |
| <i>Māra</i><br>(ಮಾರ)   | Atri<br>(ಅತ್ರಿ)            |                  |
| <i>Mudduri</i><br>(ಮದ್ದೂರಿ)                                  | Tukshi<br>(ತುಕ್ಷಿ)         |                  |
| <i>Marepalli</i><br>(ಮಾರೇಪಲ್ಲಿ)                              | Gubā<br>(ಗುಬ)              | Name of a place  |
| <i>Manjarlu</i><br>(ಮಂಜಾರ್ಲು)                                | Sandilya<br>(ಶಾಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)     |                  |
| <i>Nallamu</i><br>(ನಲ್ಲಮು)                                   | Sanstidi<br>(ಸಂಸ್ಥಿಡಿ)     |                  |
| <i>Nallagondlu</i><br>(ನಲ್ಲಗೊಂಡಲು)                           | Deynaka<br>(ದೇನಕ)          |                  |
| <i>Nili or Nikula</i><br>(ನೀಲಿ or ನೊಕಲ)                      | Bhārgava<br>(ಭಾರ್ಗವ)       | Indigo           |
| <i>Nendri</i><br>or<br><i>Ngayumu</i><br>(ನೆಂದರಿ or ನ್ಗಾಯಮು) | Prithvi<br>(ಪೃಥ್ವಿ)        |                  |
| <i>Paḍadimi</i><br>(ಪಡಡಿಮಿ)                                  | Purasina<br>(ಪುರಾಸಿನ)      |                  |
| <i>Paḍimili</i><br>(ಪಡಿಮಿಲಿ)                                 | Nishnata<br>(ನಿಷ್ಣತ)       |                  |

| Family name.  | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru.  | Meaning of term. |
|---|-----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Panaganti</i><br>(ಪನಗಂಟಿ)                                    | Akrama<br>(ಅಕ್ರಮ)           | A herb           |
| <i>Palapāṇi</i><br>(ಪಲಪಾಟಿ)<br>or<br><i>Pegada</i><br>(ಪೆಗಡ)    | Niyanti<br>(ನಿಯಂತಿ)         |                  |
| <i>Pulakunda</i><br>(ಪುಲಕಂಡ)<br><i>Poluchalli</i><br>(ಪೊಲಚಳ್ಳಿ) | Kamandala<br>(ಕಮಂಡಲ)        |                  |
| <i>Pātu</i><br>(ಪಾತು)   | Atréya<br>(ಆತ್ರೇಯ)          | He-buffaloe      |
| <i>Prāṇanātham</i><br>(ಪ್ರಾಣನಾಥಂ)                               | Bhrigu<br>(ಭೃಗು) ✕          |                  |
| <i>Parimi</i><br>(ಪರಿಮಿ)  | Kaundila<br>(ಕೌಂಡಿಲ)        |                  |
| <i>Palamari</i><br>(ಪಲಮರಿ)                                      | Chokrida<br>(ಚೊಕ್ರಿದ)       |                  |
| <i>Palakalapalli</i><br>(ಪಲಕಲಪಲ್ಲಿ)                             | Kousika<br>(ಕೌಷಿಕ)          | Name of a place  |
| <i>Pabbiti</i><br>(ಪಬ್ಬಿತಿ)                                     | Mārkandēya<br>(ಮಾರ್ಕಂಡೇಯ)   | Do               |
| <i>Pattigondlu</i><br>(ಪತ್ತಿಗೊಂಡ್ಲು)                            | Bhārgava<br>(ಭಾರ್ಗವ) ✕      |                  |
| <i>Pellukooru</i><br>(ಪೆಳ್ಳುಕೂರು)                               | Raghu<br>(ರಘು)              |                  |
| <i>Palāram</i><br>(ಪಲಾರಂ)                                       | Mārīcha<br>(ಮಾರೀಚ)          |                  |
| <i>Sūda</i><br>(ಸೂದಾ)   | Rikshibha<br>(ರಿಕ್ಷಿಭ)      |                  |
| <i>Siripi</i><br>(ಸಿರಿಪಿ)<br><i>Silam</i><br>(ಸೀಲಂ)             | Rishyasringa<br>(ರಿಷ್ಯಶೃಂಗ) |                  |

| Family name.                      | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru.   | Meaning of term. |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Sultāni</i><br>(ಸುಲ್ತಾನಿ)      | Brihatti<br>(ಬ್ರಹ್ಮತಿ)       |                  |
| <i>Sōma</i><br>(ಸೋಮ)              | Brisista<br>(ಬ್ರಿಸಿಸ್ತ)      |                  |
| <i>Sandra</i><br>(ಸಂದ್ರ)          | Bhikshu<br>(ಭಿಕ್ಷು)          |                  |
| <i>Sādanapalli</i><br>(ಸಾದನಪಲ್ಲಿ) | Subhikshu<br>(ಸುಭಿಕ್ಷು)      | Name of a place  |
| <i>Sāmadēsi</i><br>(ಸಾಮದೇಸಿ)      | Soundilya<br>(ಕೌಂಡಿಲ್ಯ)      |                  |
| <i>Sāmā</i><br>(ಸಾಮಾ)             | Vaidhatri<br>(ವೈಧತ್ರಿ)       |                  |
| <i>Suppalu</i><br>(ಸುಪ್ಪಲು)       | Bharadvāja<br>(ಭರದ್ವಾಜ)      |                  |
| <i>Srirāma</i><br>(ಶ್ರೀರಾಮ)       | Parāsara<br>(ಪರಾಶರ)          |                  |
| <i>Tyāka</i><br>(ತ್ಯಾಕಾ)          |                              |                  |
| <i>Tādipatri</i><br>(ತಾದಿಪತ್ರಿ)   | Dhriharishi<br>(ದ್ರಿಹರುಷಿ)   | Name of a place  |
| <i>Tāpigonḍu</i><br>(ತಾಟಗೊಂಡು)    | Srashtarishi<br>(ಸ್ರಷ್ಟರುಷಿ) |                  |
| <i>Tāḍa</i><br>(ತಾಡ)              | Chandrarishi<br>(ಚಂದ್ರರುಷಿ)  |                  |
| <i>Tadri</i><br>(ತಾದ್ರಿ)          | Chanava<br>(ಚನವ)             |                  |
| <i>Tarunikanti</i><br>(ತರುಣಿಕಂಟ)  | Dūrvāsa<br>(ದೂರ್ವಾಸ)         |                  |
| <i>Tumma</i><br>(ತುಮ್ಮಾ)          |                              |                  |
| <i>Tirumala</i><br>(ತಿರುಮಲ)       | Visvavasu<br>(ವಿಶ್ವಾಸು)      |                  |
| <i>Togatūru</i><br>(ತೊಗಟುರು)      | Vaichina<br>(ವೈಚಿನ)          |                  |



| Family name.                      | Eponymous hero<br>or Guru. | Meaning of term.        |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Vangari</i><br>(ವಂಗರಿ)         | Pavana<br>(ಪವನ) /          |                         |
| <i>Vina</i><br>(ವಿಣ)              | Jatila<br>(ಜಟಿಲ)           | Musical Instru-<br>ment |
| <i>Vudata</i><br>(ಉಡ್ಡ)           | Jamadagni<br>(ಜಮದಗ್ನಿ) /   | Squirrel                |
| <i>Vastrulu</i><br>(ವಸ್ತ್ರಲು)     | Angirasa<br>(ಅಂಗೀರಸ) /     | Cloth                   |
| <i>Vaisi</i><br>(ವಾಸಿ)            | Trisuka<br>(ತ್ರಿಶಕ್) /     |                         |
| <i>Vangam</i><br>(ವಂಗಂ)           | Pavana<br>(ಪವನ) /          |                         |
| <i>Yalalu</i><br>(ಯಲ್ಲಾಲು)        | Maniksha<br>(ಮೌಕ್ಷ) /      |                         |
| <i>Yinchothuri</i><br>(ಯಿಂಚೊತೂರಿ) | Tahksa<br>(ತಹ್ಷ)           |                         |
| <i>Yalukulu</i><br>(ಯಾಲಕುಲು)      | Kasyapa<br>(ಕಶ್ಯಪ)         | Rats.                   |





(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXII.**

**KILLEKYĀTAS CASTE.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.L.**

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## KILLÉKYÁTAS.

The Killékyátas are a wandering tribe of picture showmen found scattered all over the State. They are also known locally as Shillékyátas, *Bombé Atadavaru* and ತೊಂಬೆಯವರು. Another section of them who fish in rivers are known as Burude Bestas, i.e., Bestas, or fishermen of dry gourds, on account of their using dry gourds to swim in water while fishing. They are Mahrattas by origin and use that language as their home tongue. They are well built, fair and tall, but the fishing section are rather slovenly in their dress, black and stunted in growth. The last Census (1901) shows them to be about 1,000 in population made up of 373 males and nearly twice as many females, but there is reason to believe that this is a result of faulty enumeration, and they form a larger section, and the disparity between the sexes cannot be so great.

Heading  
names.

Killékyáta means a mischievous imp, *Kille* (ಕಿಲ್ಲೆ or ಕಿಲ್ಲೆ) meaning mischievous and *kyáta*, imp or a crooked fellow. Whenever they perform their shows, after the usual offering of prayers to Ganapati and Sarasvati, they exhibit a doll of fantastic appcarance, jet black in colour, with tilted nose, dishevelled hair, flowing beard, protruding lips, pot-belly and crooked hands and legs. This figure, which is known as the Killékyáta, is accompanied by his wife Bangárákka, which is equally hideous in appearance. Both these figures represent the buffoons of the performance, and keep the audience amused with rude jests and indecent jokes. The whole exhibition has come to be known as the play of Killékyáta, and the name has thence passed to the caste itself. With reference to this profession they are also known as marionette dancers. *Bomaláta-vállu* (ಬೊಮ್ಮಲಾಟವಾಳು) in Telugu and *Togalu-bombeyavaru* (ತೊಗಲುಬೊಂಬೆಯವರು) in Kannada. Another section have altogether given up this trade, and taken to fishing; and they are on that account styled Burude-Bestas (ಬುರುಡೆ ಬೆಸ್ಟರು).

Meanings  
of terms.

They style themselves Dátyéru, but the origin of this term cannot be traced. In the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency they are known by the name of Katbus.

They have no titles, but the usual honorific suffixes Appa, Ayya and Anna for males and Amma and Akka for females are used; but generally they are addressed without these suffixes by persons of higher castes.

Language.

Killékyátas always speak Mahratti among themselves, but they know the language of the locality where they live. One section of the caste, namely, Dodda Togalu Bombeyátadavaru, know how to read and write Telugu and enact their plays in that language, repeating verses from the Bhárata or Rámáyana.

Origin.

Killékyátas are immigrants into the State from the Mahratta Country to which they are believed to have come from the north either from Kollápur or Satára.\* The following appears in the Bijapur Gazetteer† about them:—"They appear to have long belonged to the district as they have no tradition of having moved from any other country. The oldest paper that has been found in their possession is a deed or *Sannad* dated the month of *Kártik* or October-November of 930 Fasli, that is, A.D. 1520, in the reign of the second King of Bijapur. They claim descent from a Kshatriya, who is said to have followed Páñdavas in their wanderings after the loss of their kingdom."

They were originally Mahratta Okkaligas following the profession of agriculture. It is said that one of their women became intimate with a man of the Goldsmith caste named Kattáre Káláchari and had seven sons by him. They were, of course, put out of caste, and the smith taught his sons to cut out dolls out of mats, leaves and pieces of leather, and earn their living by exhibiting marionettes before village audiences. The brothers of the woman who were poor were induced to join their nephews subsequently, and they formed a separate caste by themselves, reinforced by other accessions. It was after this that they migrated from the Mahratta Country into different parts of Southern India. They must have come into Mysore in different gangs as indicated by the number of their exogamous divisions. Thus while the earliest immigrants have only five divisions, the more recent have nine or eleven and those that are living on the borders of the Dharwar District, as many as thirteen.

In token of this connection, these showmen extol the caste of the goldsmiths, soon after their invocations to the

\* Belgaum Gazetteer, page 185.

† Pages 196-97.

gods at the commencement of their play, and say in explanation that the credit of the performance would be theirs (the goldsmiths') while only the doles collected would belong to themselves.\*

The patron caste are exempted from subscribing towards the expenses of such plays, but give some presents to the players who go to their houses the day after the performance. Killékyátas have sometimes been given inams for their profession, of which some exist in this State, though the condition of service has been removed.†

The two main divisions are doll-exhibiting Killé-  
kyátas and fishing Killékyátas. The former are distin-  
guished either as major or minor showmen (ದೊಡ್ಡಬೋಜಿಯಾಟ  
ದವರು, ಚಿಕ್ಕಬೋಜಿಯಾಟದವರು), and these two sections are at  
present showing a tendency to become separated not only  
in the matter of marriages but also in food. The major  
section have better plays borrowed from standard render-  
ings of the Rámáyána and Bhárata, and also employ mário-  
nettes with separate joints so that the action of the play  
may be more effectively exhibited. They have also a  
better appointed stage, large enough to accommodate all  
the actors and musicians inside. The minor showmen  
composing the other division have a much cruder appa-  
ratus, and the singer of the party, generally a woman, has  
to sit outside the booth, her sounding instrument being a  
reed fixed on the back of a bell-metal eating dish with  
a base of wax, on which she produces a shrill monotonous  
sound, by the friction of both her hands. This is accom-  
panied by a drum (ಝೇಳು). The plays enacted by these  
are also of very poor style, very coarse in language and  
sentiment.

Divisions.

The Killékyátas seem to have migrated into the State  
in different batches. The Bombe section came first, the  
minor (or Chikka) Bombe showmen being the earliest,  
as is indicated by their converting their old exogamous  
names to their local equivalents, as Aivat into Enumala,  
Sindhya into Gujjala. It is said that there are thirteen  
exogamous divisions of this caste in Bijapur District,  
brought about by one Hanumantarao Narasing of Haveli  
in Poona, who styled himself Sar Ganáchári of the caste.‡

Exogamous  
divisions.

\* ಶಿರಡುವಾಳ್ವದಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಮುಮಾದಿ.

† Mysore Revenue Manual, page 248.

‡ See Bijapur Gazetteer, page 197.

The Bombe section have the following exogamous divisions each carrying certain definite tribal functions, with it:—Ganácháři or Vanárasī, Sivácháři or Avêt, Nékhnář (corrupted into Lékhandar), Páňchangis or Aťaka or Bhandári and Sindhya.

The fishing (ವಿಷನು ಹಿಡಿಯುವ) section have in addition to these five divisions, returned four more, *viz.*, Sálavya, Sásanik, Moharga and Sinagána in the taluk of Shikarpur, and an additional one, namely, Dhúravya in Channagiri. Those found near Harihar have all the thirteen divisions, the three names besides those given above being Vákudās, Dôdkars and Dhamalkars.

It will thus be seen that the caste found in the Mysore State is the same as that of the Bombay Presidency, with this difference, that the Bombe Adiso section appear to have separated themselves when the caste contained only five divisions, while the other divisions appear to have lost touch with the main group at different periods in recent times.

Marriage among the members of the same division is prohibited and relationship is traced through males. The members of the same division are regarded as brothers and sisters.

#### Birth

**ceremonies.** It is not customary as in other castes, to take the new wife to her parent's house for her first confinement. In fact, she goes but rarely to her parents after her marriage.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered unclean for seven days when she remains in a separate shed erected for her. On the fifth day she is made to set up a stone in the confinement shed and worship it under the name of Satvi or Kontemma with the object of ensuring a long life to the new-born baby. The midwife is fed and presented with a cloth. On the seventh day, the mother and the child are washed and the mother gets a change of clothes. After this cleansing, the shed in which she was confined is pulled down and another is put up for her occupation. A general dinner is given in the afternoon, and in the evening, the child is put in a cradle by an elderly woman who also gives a name to it after consulting with a soothsayer. There are no names peculiar to this caste, though Hanumanta seems to be a very popular name. They are fond of giving nicknames expressive of some

peculiar characteristic of the person, as for example *Donka* a crooked fellow and *Monda* a stubborn fellow. The giving of opprobrious names is also very common, and the object aimed at is to deceive the malignant powers.

The first hair of the child are removed either in the first or in the third year. The child, after a bath, is taken to a temple and seated in front. His maternal uncle places a handful of dates on his head, which when scattered on the floor are picked by children. He then first goes through the form of cutting the hair with a pair of leaf scissors, and then cuts it with a pair of iron scissors.\* Then the child is again bathed and is taken to the temple to get Tírtha and Prasáda. The maternal uncle is given a present of a new turban, and after the usual dinner, all return home.

Children are considered specially liable to the attacks of spirits and to avoid such misfortune are made to wear some charms. Hanumanta Tálí (a disk bearing the figure of Hanumanta), in the neck and white beads round the waist are the more common precautions.

Adoption is unknown among the fishing and the Chikka Bombe sections. They have generally little property to leave behind them. It is sometimes, though rarely, practised by the Doddá Bombe section when a man is childless. They may take any boy they please and of any age. It is not uncommon for a man to take a foundling or a boy from even other castes and bring him up as his own son. No particular ceremony is required.

Adoption.

Infant marriages are very rare; and a woman may, if she chooses, live without marrying at all; polygamy is rather common, but polyandry is unknown.

Marriage.

The three main divisions are strictly endogamous, though it is said that the fishing section give but do not bring girls from the other sections. The Chikka Bombe and Doddá Bombe sections were apparently one formerly, as may be inferred from the custom of their inviting each other for any important caste pancháyat, but intermarriages between them are almost unheard of. Marriages between members belonging to the same exogamous sect are strictly prohibited and any illegal intimacy between a man and a woman belonging to such a division is punished by putting the guilty persons out of the pale of

\* Bijapur Gazetteer, pages. 199-200.

caste without a chance of expiation. Such persons are not allowed to live in the caste quarters and are interdicted fire and water from the other members of the caste.

The negotiation for marriage must always begin from the male's side, unless the boy is a very near relation such as a cousin. The boy's father goes to the girl's house and settles the marriage with her father at Vilya Sástra (betel leaves ceremony). On this occasion the boy's father has to give Rs. 2 to the caste pancháyat and five quarter anna pieces to the girl's mother. The girl dressed in the Síre presented to her is seated on a Kampli in the presence of caste pancháyat and is made to put on glass bangles given to her in the name of the boy. If, after this, the contract is broken by either party, he has to pay a fine to the caste Yajaman, besides the expenses incurred by the other side.

Being a wandering community, Killékyátas do not observe any elaborate ceremonies for marriage. One of the Ganáchári section conducts the ceremony and a Brahman's presence is not required. Usually all persons of the caste living or wandering within a definite area meet together on such occasions, and perform a number of marriages together. But the tendency to copy the manners of the higher castes is asserting itself and marriages lasting for four days instead of a single day are becoming more common, and are separately celebrated for each couple.

The marriage ceremonies commence with the worship of an ant-hill. A party from the girl's house go, after bathing, to the ant-hill and after making Púja, pour some milk in the snake-hole, touch it with a Táli with a serpent engraved in it, which they afterwards tie round the girl's neck. This is known as Huttada Táli (ಹುತ್ತದ ತಾಳಿ).

The marriage pandal is raised on four pillars, of which one known as Muhúrtakamba (ಮುಹೂರ್ತಕಂಬ) or marriage post, is brought in by the girl's maternal uncle, and is set up by married women, who tie round it a package containing five kinds of grains and a Kaukaṇa. The Arivéni or sacred pots are placed within it, and some Tális with human figures engraved on them as representing ancestors, and a Kalasa are also placed near and worshipped. A pot filled with toddy is kept there, and offerings are made of cooked food and a sheep or goat is killed. A married woman is then specially selected to serve

during the whole marriage as bridesmaid (known in their language as Varme). She has to attend to the bridal pair and, whenever necessary, smear their bodies with turmeric paste, carry Kalasa, wave A'rati and render other similar services. In some places, a man also is likewise selected to attend on the bridegroom.\*

On the next day, each party is made to bathe in Male-nirut separately. The bridegroom is taken to a temple or some other place, and conducted thence in state to the marriage pandal, at the entrance of which an A'rati is waved before him. After this, the caste functionaries have each certain definite parts assigned to them in the ceremony. Thus the Sindhya spreads blankets on the bridal seats. The bride and bridegroom being led on the marriage dais, stand facing each other with a curtain between them held by the Siváchári. The Sáḷva, or in his absence the Sindhya recites the names of the gods and the ancestors of the bridal pair, and thereupon the curtain is removed. The bride and bridegroom place on each other's head jirige (cummin seed) and jaggory. The Nékhnár ties the hems of their clothes in a knot. The Gaṇáchári, who is in fact the chief functionary or the Puróhit, hands over the Táḷi or the marriage disk to the bridegroom who ties it to the neck of the bride. Then Kankas are tied to the bridal pair. The Pánchangi distributes grains of rice to the assembled guests and the Gaṇachári, Siváchári and other functionaries and the rest in order place it on the heads of the couple. The couple sit in front of a large vessel, and milk is poured on their joined hands by the relatives and others. This ceremony, known as milk-pouring (ಪಾಲು ಪಾಕ), completes the gift of the girl. After being shown the star Arundhati, the two go round the milk-post and bow before the Arivéni pots. Buyva or the eating together of food by the bride and the bridegroom and their nearest relations takes place as a practical manifestation of the union of the two families.

Simbásana-Púja takes place the next day when the Gaṇáchári worships a heap of betel leaves and nuts and distributes to all, in a prescribed order of precedence, the number of Támbúlas they are entitled to by the recognised custom of the caste.

\* In some places, (Chitaldrug) five women are so set apart.

† See monograph on Bôḍa caste No. 3, page 8, as to what this means.



The next day is devoted to Nágavali, and worship of the ant-hill and the pandal posts. The Kankaṇas are removed after the pot-searching ceremony, and a caste dinner is then given.

In the evening, the girl is concealed in a place, and the bridegroom with a Bhāshinga tied to his forehead is made to search for her. On being discovered, she makes a pretence of refusing to go with him and is coaxed to yield. Then all proceed in state to a temple and worship the God. On their return, the bride and the bridegroom are taken up on the shoulders of two able-bodied men, and a dance takes place in the street. Towards the close of this dance, the husband carries away the newly married wife to his house but just as he reaches the threshold of his house, he is waylaid and obstructed by the wife's party, who release him on his promise to let them have the first-born daughter. This entry of the wife to her husband's house finishes the marriage ceremonies. The bride-price varies from Rs. 10 to 20 pagodas. The whole expense of the marriage, which again varies from Rs. 50 to 200, has to be borne by the father of the bridegroom, who has to spend a great deal on toddy, so that a marriage looks often like a drunken brawl.

#### Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for five days, during which period she remains in a **separate** shed of green leaves. She is given a bath every day and the clothes are removed as the degree of impurity lessens day by day. In some places, even the sheds are renewed each day. On the last day, some little girls are given a dinner; and for two or three days afterwards Osage is performed, at which she is exhibited before an assembly of married women. If she is already married, her husband pays the expenses of one of these shows: if not, her maternal uncle. No particular ceremony is observed at the time of the consummation. The husband presents a new cloth and she is given presents of fruits and flowers, and they begin to live together thenceforth.

#### Widow marriage.

Not only is widow marriage allowed and freely practised, but it is said to be compulsory in the case of childless widows. Such a woman is sent away to her parent's house after her husband's death, to be there free to choose any one she likes. The offer of a marriage to a widow has to be made to her father who, through the caste people, obtains the formal consent of the widow's previous husband's relations.

The property and the issue of her previous husband are returned to his family. In the evening of the day fixed, the intended husband with the headman and others of the caste goes to the house of the widow's father and gives to the woman presents of clothes, bangles and other things, which she puts on. The couple stand in the assembly on a black blanket. The Siváchári (Avét) applies Vibhúti (sacred ashes) to their forehead, and the husband (or a widow in some places) ties a string of black glass beads or (in some places a Táli) to her neck and the Siváchári loudly proclaims that the pair have become husband and wife. Pan-supari is distributed and a hookah is passed round the assembly beginning with the headman. This is followed by a dinner and a liberal use of toddy. Married women do not take part in the ceremony but may join the dinner. A bachelor may not marry a widow, but where there has been previous intimacy, he is married first to an Ekka plant and then to her. The bride price of a widow is half that of a virgin girl and varies between Rs. 6 and Rs. 40. A widow cannot marry her previous husband's brother.

Divorce is very easy and pretty common. If the husband and wife cannot get on together, either party may put an end to the connection by going away from the other. The separation is signalised by the husband's taking away the Táli and bangles given by him and tearing the loose end of the wife's garment. The divorced woman may marry again after payment of a small fine to the caste. They are said to be rather loose in sexual relations, and adultery especially with a person of the same or a higher caste is easily condoned.

Divorce and adultery.

The fishing section do not dedicate girls as Basavis. But the minor Bombe section set apart a girl in each family as a public woman. The dedication always takes place before puberty and the ceremony is short and simple. On an auspicious day the girl after bathing is dressed in fresh clothes and seated on a plank and a dirk (Báku) is placed by her. A Dásayya brands her with the seal of Sankha and Chakra on the back just below the right shoulder, and places in her garment lucky things such as rice, cocoanut and jaggory. After puberty, she may bestow her favours on any one she chooses. She remains in the father's house and sometimes sets up for herself a separate shed to receive her lovers.

Basavis.

Death ceremonies.

The dead bodies are generally buried. Those of persons affected with such diseases as leprosy and of pregnant women are cremated ; and bodies of those meeting with unnatural death such as from wild animals are sometimes buried under stone heaps. The bodies of married persons are placed in a sitting, and those of others in a lying posture in the graves. When a Killékyáta dies, his body is washed and dressed in new clothes, and if it is a married woman, the hair is decked with flowers as for a bridal. Betel-leaves and nuts are crushed and kept in its mouth. It is placed on a quilt and is carried by four persons taking hold of the four corners, a fifth person holding up its head in position. The chief mourner carries a faggot of fire and a new earthen pot full of rice. While about half way to the burial ground, the bearers change sides, and the articles carried by the mourner are thrown away. At that place, the body is stripped of all clothing, and is placed in the grave with a bit of gold in its mouth. To retain it in a sitting posture, the head is fastened by a string to a peg driven to the side of the pit. After filling up, a stone slab is placed on the grave to mark the place of the head, and a Tulasi or a Tumbé plant is planted on the spot. The funeral party then bathe and return home to look at a lamp kept burning at the place of death. Thence they repair to a toddy shop euphemistically called Sabhá-Kachéri (meeting place) in Telugu, to drown their grief.

The family of the deceased do not cook their food on the first day, and some of their relatives send cooked food for them. On the third day, the mourners repair to the burial-ground with all the eatables, cooked and uncooked, which the deceased was fond of when alive, and offer two Edés, one at the spot where the corpse had been deposited on the way to the graveyard and the other on the grave. If crows do not eat up the food, they consider that the deceased had some cause for anger against the survivors, and make vows to satisfy his soul. If, however, crows hover over the food but do not touch it, they imagine that he had some particular longing in mind and promise to fulfil his wish. Then they bathe and return home and in the evening, take their near relatives to the toddy shop for a drink. On the eleventh day they observe the Tithi ceremony. Their castemen and other relatives are sent for. They cleanse the house and all bathe and put on washed clothes

A pot is set up in the house to which offerings of new clothes and food are made. The company then feast and drink in honour of the dead man. Another feast is held after three months, and a Tāli (a metal disk) on which an image of the deceased is engraved is consecrated with the sacrifice of a goat or sheep, and placed among the household gods.

There is no doubt that in this caste, real ancestor worship is practised. They say that the dead are not to be consigned wholly to the grave. (ಸತ್ತವರನ್ನು ಅಡ್ಡಿಯಪಾಲುವಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.) They believe that their deceased ancestors, especially the married among them, always remain with them. The names of the departed should be given to children in the family.

Religion.

On occasions such as Dasara, Ugādi and Mahālaya Amāvāsyā, they wash the images, burn incense near them and offer food and drink. In addition to the images of ancestors, they generally keep idols of Durgamma, Bhairava Dévaru and Anjanéya, which they worship on all festive occasions. Yallamma is another god to which they pay special reverence and celebrate Pūja periodically.

On such occasions, a toddy pot to the neck of which a saffron-coloured thread is tied, is placed in the shade of a margosa tree to represent the goddess, and animals are sacrificed before it. The praises of the goddess are sung, and the festival is celebrated with great éclat by the assembled castemen of the neighbourhood. They also offer Pūja to the god of small-pox, to Gangamma, the Sun, the Asvatha tree, and generally worship all the Hindu gods. They prefer to employ as Pūjaris (worshippers) young boys, who are considered to be yet uncontaminated with wordly vices.

The following description given of Killékýatas in the Bombay Presidency is more or less applicable to them in this State :—

“ Their two leading divinities are Mahādev and Durgavva. Mahādev is said to be found only in the houses of the head of the Gaṇāchāris, but many have Durgavva in their sheds and worship her themselves. Those who have no image of Durgavva, on her great day, a Tuesday about *Māgh* full moon in January-February, make an image of meal and worship it. They do not keep the sweet-basil plant or worship it. They worship their leather pictures and offer them *polis* or sugar roolly-polis on *Ganesh-Chāturthi*, the bright fourth of Bhādrapad or August-September. During the first month after death on any convenient days the chief mourner kills a goat in honor of his house-gods and a brass image representing the dead is added to the gods. They

keep all the leading Hindu fasts and feasts, and a few sometimes make pilgrimages to Parasgad in Belgaum and to Pandharpur in Sholapur. Their priests are Ganacharis and the head Ganáchári is their spiritual teacher.\*

Killékyátas believe in omens and consult soothsayers. They believe that they can exorcise evil spirits by making the person possessed lie down near the boxes containing the pictures of their show.

Social  
status.

Killékyátas are a wandering tribe and live outside the villages in sheds constructed of arched bamboos covered with mats. Though they profess to be Kshatriyas, they are looked upon as very low in the social scale. But some of the Bombe section have on account of their education earned a respectable position and are received even by Brahmans into their houses. The showmen wander in definite areas and in some places have Inams given them on account of their proficiency in their art.

They admit recruits especially women from the higher castes, with the sanction of the Ganáchári obtained after payment of a fine.

They eat the flesh of sheep, goats, deer, hares and rabbits but eschew beef and pork. Both the sexes indulge in liquor. They eat in the houses of Kurubas, Uppáras and Bestas. Mádigas and Holeyas are the only castes who eat in the houses of the Killékyátas.

They have no social disabilities in the matter of conveniences in the village. The barbers may shave them but not pare their nails; but the fishing section have usually their own washerman.

Inherit-  
ance.

It is stated that the youngest son succeeds to the property of his parents by preference. This is brought about apparently by the fact that the elder ones set up separate sheds for themselves soon after marriage, and that the youngest remaining longest with the parents has to support them in their old age.

Caste  
constitution

They have a strong caste constitution, and in some matters such as marriage, excommunication and admission of strangers into the caste, the concurrence of the caste tribunal is indispensable. The head of the caste is styled Ganáchári, and there is also a chief over all the Ganácháris known as Sar Ganáchári. The Ganáchári presides over all meetings, directs marriage and other ceremonials and por-

forms the purifying ceremony. He acts also as the Purôhit in marriages and throws the rice on the married pair. Next to him comes the Siváchári, whose duty is to apply sacred ashes to the head of the person subjected to any Práyascitta (purification). He belongs to Avét division. The Néknár also called Patél is the head of a Kattémâne, that is, a seat of subordinate jurisdiction. In marriages, he has to untie the knot, tied by the Siváchári, of the hem of the bridal pair's garments. Páchangya who is of the Aṭka division, has to distribute betel leaves and nuts in an assembly and when the next functionary Sindhya is absent, he has to spread the blanket for the caste people to sit on. Sindhya spreads the blankets on occasions of marriage and does the office of drummer. Sálavya has to bring materials for erecting the marriage booth. Saśanika puts Sásu\* to the bridal couple and Sinagána who is called the Kólkar of the caste, carries a baton in his hand, collects people of the caste and seats them in the regular order. He has also to attend the caste Pancháyati and execute the orders of the Gaṇá-chári, Siváchári and Néknár. Dhuravya is another officer who buys provisions for a marriage.

Each of these offices is hereditary and belongs to a family in a particular exogamous division. The quantity of Pan-supari and the fee to be given to each of them on ceremonial occasions are fixed definitely.† The Bombe section have only five office-bearers stopping with the Sindhya who acts as the Kólkar or servant of the caste. Whenever there is a caste dispute, all the office-holders of the caste, especially the first five of them, must join. If, however, on account of unavoidable reason any one does not appear, his function has to be carried out by the next lower; a representative of the Sindhya division, however, cannot preside at any caste deliberation. The matters of dispute that come up for settlement are such as adultery, divorce, abusing

\* *I.e.*, pouring handfuls of rice on their heads.

|              |     | Betel leaves | Nuts | Money            |
|--------------|-----|--------------|------|------------------|
| † Gaṇá-chári | ... | 5            | 5    | 5 quarter annas. |
| Siváchári    | ... | 4            | 4    | 4 do             |
| Néknár       | ... | 4            | 4    | 4 do             |
| Páchangi     | ... | 4            | 1    | 4 do             |
| Sindhya      | ... | 2            | 2    | 2 do             |
| Sálavya      | ... | 2            | 2    | 2 do             |
| Sásnik       | ... | 2            | 2    | 2 do             |
| Sinagána     | ... | 2            | 2    | 2 do             |
| Dhuravya     | ... | 1            | 1    | 1 do             |

caste people and striking some one with a shoe. In such cases the accused person has to answer the charge against him. When the charge is proved or admitted, the second official (Siváchári) who is specially invested with secular authority, settles the amount of fine which has to be paid by the culprit. After paying the fine, the latter passes round a hookah to all the members of the assembly, each of whom smokes it as a sign that the fault has been expiated. The business is finished with an entertainment of drink and dinner.

#### Occupation.

The characteristic occupations of the caste are marionette shows and fishing. They play various scenes of the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, the former being more in demand. The dolls are cut out of goatskin and painted in gaudy colours. They are made of several members cut separately and joined together with wires and various motions and postures are caused by dexterous manipulation behind the curtain with the aid of thin bamboo splits. The action of the figures are made to correspond to the story as recited by the showman in prose and doggerel. For the minor class of showmen (ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಬೊಂಬೆ ಆಡುವವರು), the stage is made of screens of kambli and white cloths borrowed of a washerman. The showman alone sits inside and uses both hands for moving the dolls. A woman sitting outside produces low shrill music with a reed sounded on the back of a flat dish of bell metal. The words of the play are crudely conceived, and often fit only for a low class audience. The stage of the Dodda Bombe A'tadavaru, on the other hand, is built on a raised platform and is decorated with plantain and mango leaves. It is spacious enough to accommodate within its curtains the whole troupe furnished with fiddle, drum, cymbals, etc. The text is taken from recognised books on the epics, and players including women are all literate. The women do the singing while the men show the pictures over the curtain. The play begins at about 10 P.M. and continues the whole night. The performance is enlivened by the appearance, on the scene at intervals, of the buffoons, a Killékýáta and his wife in fantastic garb, whose part sometimes borders on indecency. When the performance is over, the whole party go to every house in the village and get presents in kind, in addition to the lump sum collected by the whole village. Besides, during the enactment of the play they

demand for and obtain presents of cloths and other articles from the spectators. It is considered auspicious for rains and crops to have these shows about the harvest time, and in certain places, Killékyáta are entitled to customary annual fees for their services. Agriculturists draw with charcoal powder rude figures of a man on each of the corners of a field when there is crop on it. The various agricultural implements are said to be the limbs of this demon who is known as Karébhauṭa or Killékyáta. His brother known by the name of Jókumára is invoked to bring about rains in seasons of drought. He comes to being four days after the death of Vináyaka, *i.e.*, after Vináyaka's idol is removed after Púja on the 4th day of the first fortnight of Bhádrapada every year. Lime-burners make a rude earthen image of him. A boy takes this on his head and goes to all the houses in a village, singing songs and calling upon the god of rain to send rain to the earth. He gets doles of grain and a feast is held on the full-moon day. Next day, Jókumára is said to die of choking with a bone stuck in his throat. After death, he goes to the god of rain and implores him to send rain to moisten the parched up soil and to save people from dying of famine.

The fishing section who are expert swimmers live by fishing. During high floods they tie up two gourds together with a stout rope, and ride on the water over incredible distances by sitting astride on the floating rope between the gourds, riding as if it were a horse. They say they feel more at home in water than on land where there is fear of stumbling on stones and meeting snakes and evil spirits. These last never approach them on water for fear of being caught in the meshes of their nets.

Boys begin to swim at about ten, learning the art by imitation. Their expertness is such that not one of this caste is believed to have ever been drowned. They profess to take a man through the highest floods without any danger. They let him in water up to the neck and simply lead him by the hand, always keeping his head above water. They are not afraid of crocodiles and it is said that these huge reptiles are scared away when they see their bodies reflected in the water while riding.

The women of the Killékyáta section are expert tattooers and earn money by this profession.

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## MONDARU.

Monḍaru (ಮಂಡರು) form a small caste low in social scale which has been erroneously included under Jōgis in the Census reports. It is therefore not possible to give any estimate of their number. The caste is said to have sprung from a couple belonging to the Mandala sub-division of the Bēḍa caste who married each other in ignorance of their belonging to the same exogamous section and were therefore put out of caste. Even now a beggar of the Monḍaru caste never enters the houses of Bēḍas and is not allowed to beg from the people of the Mandala section. General.

The caste is generally known as Monḍaru and sometimes Baṇḍa in Telugu. The terms have come to denote obstinacy coupled with a lack of shame, but it is not easy to say whether the caste acquired the name on account of their character or the word its meaning as being the name of such a caste. They have no special caste titles added to their names, but they claim to belong to the Setṭi Phana, that is, the right-hand group of castes. Name.

They seem to be Telugu beggars and speak Telugu generally. They also know the language of the country they live in. They have a dialect which resembles that of the Dombars.\* In their dialect they style a man of their caste as Makāriḡāḍu (ಮಕಾರಿಗಾಡು). Language

The caste which originally was one has recently become divided into four or five endogamous groups, Uru Monḍaru (ಉರು ಮಂಡರು), Baṇḍa or Kākalu Monḍaru (ಬಂಡ ಅಥವಾ ಕಾಕಲು ಮಂಡರು), Sikhandi Monḍaru (ಸಿಖಂಡಿ ಮಂಡರು) and Kastūri Monḍaru (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ ಮಂಡರು). Uru Monḍaru live in villages and are a little more advanced than the others. The second lead a wandering life and are so called as they eat crow's flesh. Sikhandi Monḍaru are those who lie down in the streets for begging, covering the entire face with filth and mud to attract the attention of passers-by. They are perhaps so styled (Sikhandi means a hermaphrodite) as the men often appear covered in a woman's cloth. Kas-tūri means musk and the term is applied ironically to this Divisions.

\* See Appendix of the Dombar Caste. Monograph XIII.

class as they smear themselves with ordure and bring it with them in a gourd while begging, to compel persons to dismiss them soon with alms.

They have exogamous divisions of which some are the following :—Salka (ꠞꠞꠞ), Kamádula (ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ), Mailúru (ꠞꠞꠞꠞ), Tella Mékala (ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ) Maḍḍibuṭṭa (ꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞꠞ), Gavaraddi (ꠞꠞꠞꠞ) and Sáke (ꠞꠞꠞ).

Birth ceremonies.

On the birth of a child a woman is kept in a separate hut and is unclean for three days. Their own midwife attends at the delivery and remains with her all the three days. A crow-catching net is hung at the door of the hut to ward off evil spirits. The navel cord with the afterbirth is put into an earthen vessel and placed near the woman, after smoking it with incense. On the third day the midwife offers Púja to it burning incense and breaking a cocoanut and buries it in a hole dug in front of the hut. The child is then bathed over this hole along with the mother. A dinner is given to the caste people and the child is named. When the child is a month old, white glass beads are tied to its neck and when it is five or seven years old, the tonsure ceremony is observed for both sexes before the temple of their god.

Marriage.

Mondaru observe the same prohibited degrees of consanguinity as the other Hindus. A man may marry his elder sister's daughter or the daughter of maternal uncle or paternal aunt. Two sisters may be married either by one man or two brothers. A man may marry more than one wife but polyandry is not known. Marriages are generally adult but infant marriages are also allowed. Negotiations for marriage are commenced by the boy's family. If the girl's family consents to the match, the boy's party take betel leaves and nuts and four rupees in money to the girl's house for the ceremony of "Spreading the blanket." The girl's father is paid four rupees and a caste dinner is given. Four or five days before the day fixed for the marriage, the boy and his party go to the girl's house and there settle with the girl's father as to the number of invitations to be issued for the marriage and other important matters. On the morning of the wedding day, the pair are bathed and presented with new cloths. In the evening a spot is cleaned with cow-dung and water and a blanket is spread. The boy and the girl are seated there facing each other with Kankayas of turmeric

root tied to their wrists. Two Arivéni pots filled with rice and dhal and covered with lids are brought by married women and placed one near the bridegroom and the other near the bride. The boy and the girl are besmeared with turmeric paste and all the married women individually present the girl with rice and other articles placed in her garment. Then the couple rise with the fringes of their garments knotted together and are taken round both the Arivéni pots three times. A man of the Sáke section unties the knot and then the boy and the girl go into their huts. Then a dinner is given to the caste.

Next day in the evening, the girl puts on a white Sádi. The bridegroom and the bride are seated on a Kambli between the Arivéni pots. All the people assembled throw some rice on their heads. The couple then rise and stand facing each other. The boy takes the Tali in his hands and placing his left foot on the right foot of the girl, ties it to her neck. This finishes the marriage ceremony. Then all the assembled married pairs present pour Sáse over the married pair. Next day the father of the girl gives a dinner to all; and if the girl has already attained puberty, the consummation of marriage also takes place.

The Mondaru who have settled in villages observe the ceremonies more elaborately and put up a Pandal and pour Dhare. The ceremonies are continued for five days and either a Jangam or a Brahman is also invited to conduct the ceremony.

The amount of Tera varies between six rupees and sixteen rupees. As regards the cost of marriage, the expenses of the first two days are to be paid for by the boy's family and those of the third day by the girl's.

When a girl attains puberty she is considered impure Puberty. for five days and sits by herself in a shed of green leaves. Before putting up the shed, a cocoanut is broken on the spot selected and the maternal uncle, or in his absence, a man who is in marriageable relation to the girl procures the materials. On the fifth day, the girl is bathed and the shed is pulled down and burnt by the uncle. On the day the girl bathes, her relatives present her with dry cocoanut, jaggory and fried grain.

Widow marriage is permitted and freely practised. Widow marriage. They avoid the same prohibited degrees of relationship for

such marriages as for the regular marriages. A widow is not permitted to marry her deceased husband's brother. A fine of six rupees is paid to the caste and the Tera, which is half the amount required for a virgin marriage, is paid to the relations of the woman's deceased husband. A bachelor may marry a widow and disparity of age is no bar. The ceremony is held in the evening and no auspicious day is necessary. In the presence of the caste people, the husband presents a cloth to the woman which she wears, and ties the Tali; and it is said that married women may not only be present when the ceremony takes place, but actually assist at it.

**Divorce.** Their morals are believed to be lax and a separation may take place on very slight grounds. The party at fault may freely marry again, provided the expenses of the previous marriage are reimbursed and a fine paid to the caste. A woman suspected of adultery may have her fault condoned by either corporal punishment inflicted by the husband, or in very serious cases by payment by the husband of a fine to the caste.

**Funerals.** Mondaru dispose of dead bodies by burial. The corpse is rolled up in a new cloth and carried by hands to the burial ground where it is stripped naked and interred in the grave. The party wash their hands and feet and repair to a toddy shop, where they all drink and have a few drops of the liquid sprinkled on their heads as a mark of purification. Thence they all return to the hut of the deceased and look at a lamp kept alight on the spot where he breathed his last. On the third day or Chinna Dinam (ചിന്ന ദിനം) they cook together all such articles of food as the deceased was fond of, including crow's flesh, and place it on the grave on a plantain leaf. On the eleventh day the spot on which the deceased died is cleaned. Food is cooked there in a new earthen vessel and an Eḍḍ offered before a lamp-stand (പുത്ത പെട്ടി) after Pūja is performed by a Dāsaiyya. Each of the deceased's relatives puts a little incense on the fire kept near the stand and prays to the ghost of the deceased for his welfare. They do not perform Srāddhas but on the Mahālaya Amāvāsya all bathe and placing new clothes near a Kalasa, burn incense and offer cocoanuts in the names of all the deceased ancestors.

**Religion.** They worship all the Hindu gods but their favourite deities are Māraṇma, Kollāpuramma, Sunkalaṇma and other minor goddesses. Once a year, on a Tuesday or a

Friday, they set up a stone in the names of these goddesses at the foot of a margosa tree and sacrifice a pig, which they cook and eat on the spot. Gurumūrti is another god they worship, to which they offer Pūja on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Ashāḍha (July-August) month. They believe in the existence of devils and say that persons who die an unnatural death become devils and always hover on large trees and at the meeting of three paths. The spirit of a man always catches a woman and that of a woman catches a man. They resort to exorcising it with the help of a devil-scarer.

Moṇḍaru occupy a low place in the social scale. They are regarded as unclean people and are not generally touched even by non-Brahmans. They are a wandering class and live in huts pitched outside villages or under trees or in deserted temples or Mantapas. They are, however, allowed to use the common well of the village. The barber shaves them but does not pare their nails and the washerman does not touch the cloth worn by a woman during her monthly sickness. Those of them who have succeeded in attaining a better position in life than their confreres have settled down in villages and are treated socially somewhat like Bédars. They admit outsiders into their caste. They follow the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance. They eat the flesh of goats, sheep, fowls, pigs and also crows and drink toddy and other country and foreign liquor. They do not eat beef or the flesh of monkeys, kites, vultures or snakes or the leavings of other people. No other castes, not even Mádigas, eat in their houses. Social status.

They are beggars by profession but some have settled down to agriculture. Even the latter have to go out begging at least once a year. They wander about singing or rather warbling, for they utter inarticulate words, and if money or grain be not given to them they sit obstinately in front of houses and compel the owners by various practices to comply with their demand. They go about on their begging excursion almost naked and are distinguished by iron bangles worn on their forearms, a band of twisted rags on their right upper arm, and a band of human hair round their left wrist. Their object is evidently to make themselves as disgusting in appearance as possible and they add to their personal charms by cutting themselves with a blunt knife so as to draw blood and smear their limbs with it. They also vomit forcibly Occupation.

or spit out gruel which they carry in a gourd for the purpose. As they approach a house, they announce their presence by making a peculiar whirring guttural sound and belching as if ready to vomit. They beg from all castes including Mádigas, but when they go to houses of Bédars, Akkasáles and Mondaru living in villages, they must receive what is voluntarily given and should not resort to annoyance for enforcing compliance.

Caste or-  
ganisation.

The caste is divided into several groups, each of which has the right to collect alms within a particular area. If any of them trespass into another's tract against his will, he will be punished with a fine by the caste Pancháyat. Each of these groups has a headman called Gudigádu. They have no caste servant, but whenever any meeting of the caste is called together, the man at whose instance it is convened has to collect the people. They meet periodically to decide the more important disputes.

Miscella-  
neous.

When they are not begging, they put on the ordinary dress. Men grow their hair long and matted, which they tie round into a conical shape when begging.







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## KUMBÁRAS.

Kumbáras are makers of earthen pots and tiles, and form an important section of a village community. They numbered, according to the Census of 1901, 43,418, of whom 22,839 were males. The largest number of them is found in the Mysore District, the rest being scattered in the remaining districts. Owing to the reluctance of the Siváchár section among them to return themselves as Kumbáras, it is likely that their number, according to the Census, is below the mark. General.

The caste is commonly known as Kumbáras (ಕುಂಬಾರರು). Name.  
One section describe themselves as belonging to the family of Gundā Brahma (ಗುಂಡಬ್ರಹ್ಮವಂಶದವರು) or Gundābhaktaru (ಗುಂಡಾಭಕ್ತರು), while another section say they are the descendants of Sáliváhana (ಸಾಲೀವಾಹನವಂಶದವರು), the reputed originator of the Era of that name. Those that have embraced Lingáyatism are gradually disowning the name of Kumbáras, and when pressed for an answer, say that they are Lingáyats who have adopted the profession of pot-making. Kumbáras have no other names. The proper honorific suffix of their name is Setṭi; but ordinarily men add *Appa*, *Ayya* or *Anna* and women *Amma* or *Alká* to their names. Kumbára is from Sanskrit Kumbhakára, maker of pots, and the other names mentioned refer to their supposed descent from persons bearing those names.

The progenitor of the caste is said to have been one Gundāyya, also styled Gundābrahma. He is believed to have sprung from Gundā or the fireplace in which the three gods of the Triad together offered sacrifice. He was appointed to make pots for the use of earthly beings. The section who style themselves as Sáliváhanas separated from the main body in course of time. They trace their origin from Sáliváhana, said to have been begotten by a Brahman on a damsel of the potter caste. A learned Brahman, while away from home, discovered that offspring impregnated at a particular moment would become a mighty king, and was hastening back to meet his wife. When he arrived at the bank of the Krishna, a storm Origin.



overtook him and he was obliged to seek shelter in the house of a potter. The lucky hour was fast approaching, and the Brahman became more and more impatient. The potter, on learning what it was that was troubling the Brahman, begged him to allow his daughter to share the luck of the auspicious moment and *Sáliváhana* was the fruit of the union.

The boy was left with his mother in the potter's house and was duly instructed in the trade. As he grew up, however, he showed an inclination to neglect his proper work and took a delight in manufacturing toy soldiers, horses and implements of war. He stored them all carefully in a room, though his grandfather would have been glad if the boy would devote his time to the more useful work of making pots. The king of the country, who had a bad reputation as an oppressor of the poor, sent his messengers to extort money; and when they reached the old potter's house, *Sáliváhana* jeered at them and drove them away with whips. The complaint reached the king who naturally got angry and ordered a small company of men to raze the potter's house to the ground and to drag the presumptuous boy to his presence. The young man in the meanwhile had opened the door of his magazine and sprinkled holy water on the toys that he had stored there. The men and animals came to life and a fully equipped army was ready at his service. The king's men were cut to pieces and later on the whole army was utterly routed and the king himself slain. *Sáliváhana* seized the throne and ruled the country very successfully.

Divisions.

There are three main divisions among the *Kumbáras*: *Telugu Kumbáras* (తెలుగు కూబారరు), otherwise known as *Sajjana Kumbáras* (సజ్జన కూబారరు), *Kannada Kumbáras* (ಕನ್ನಡ కూಬಾರರು), and *Lingáyat Kumbáras* (ಲಿಂಗಾಯತ కూಬಾರರು). There are said to be two more divisions styled *Kudipaṭṭala* (కుడిపైటల) and *Tamil Kumbáras* (తమిళకూబారరు). The former is a division found in almost all the castes, the women whereof wear their garment (*Síre*) so as to allow its loose end to fall on the right shoulder, and the latter division is linguistic and applies only to the Tamil speaking section, of whom there are few in the State.\*

\* NOTE. *Níligáras*, spoken of in the Census Report of 1901, were, it appears, a division of *Kumbáras* who were dyeing cloth with indigo colour. This section is scarcely found now in the State. It is also reported that some *Kumbáras* drew toddy and were hence called *Idiga Kumbáras*.

These divisions are not only endogamous but do not sometimes eat together. The third division who wear the Linga, are, for all practical purposes, considered as Lingáyats, following the rites and ceremonies peculiar to that sect and having a Jangama as their priest.

There is little doubt that the Lingáyat section are recent converts from the main body. Some, however, namely, the Sajjana section, state that they were all Lingáyats originally but lost rank by taking to drinking and flesh-eating. It is said that one of them who was possessed of extraordinary powers was put out of caste for indulging himself in these forbidden practices. To revenge himself he sent plague and pestilence amongst them and would not relent till most of his castemen joined and partook of the forbidden food and drink. Only a few who had fled from their homes remained as Lingáyats.

Kannaḍa Kumbáras have a large number of exogamous divisions, but many, especially those in the Mysore District, have forgotten them. The names, as usual, represent some material object, such as a plant or an animal, and the members of a division observe the usual prohibitions against eating, cutting or otherwise interfering with the object representing that division. The following are a few of them :—Kastūri (ಕಸ್ತೂರಿ musk) kula, Sámantigé (ಚ್ಯವಂತಿಗೆ cysanthemum) kula, Nágara (ನಾಗರ cobra) kula, Kendávare (ಕಂದಾವರ red lotus) kula, and Rávaḷa (ರಾವಳಿ a drag) kula.

The Sajjana Kumbáras had, they say, one hundred and eight divisions formerly, but many of them having subsequently become Lingáyats, the number has been reduced to sixteen. Some of them bear the names of material objects to which they show the usual respect, while most of them bear territorial names.

The Lingáyat Kumbáras are also said to have similar exogamous divisions but those of them who live in towns give out, like other Lingáyats, five gótras named after Rénuka, Dáruka, Gajakarṇa, Ghantakarṇa and Visvakarṇa.

A woman is considered impure for ten days on giving birth to a child. During this period of pollution, the woman is confined in a room at the door of which are placed an old shoe and a crowbar to scare away the evil spirits. Old rags are received from the neighbours for the child's bed. On the eleventh day, the mother and the

Birth ceremonies.

child are bathed and the mother is given some stimulating drugs to keep warm. For the purification ceremony, the Kannaḍa Kumbáras invite a Brahman, while the others have their own priests. The child is named and put into a cradle in the evening. In some cases either an astrologer or a soothsayer is consulted as to the name.

Unlike the other Lingáyats, the Lingáyat Kumbáras observe birth pollution for ten days, but the ceremonies connected with the birth are the same as those among other Lingáyats. On the day of the birth of the child, a Jangama priest is called. His feet are washed and a drop of this water is put into the child's mouth. On the eleventh day, after the bath, a Linga is given to the child which the mother keeps with her till he is old enough to take charge of it.

There are no names peculiar to the caste. Mópúrappa may be taken as a name very commonly used among them. Opprobrious names are given, and for the same reason as in other castes. Nicknames such as Gidda (dwarf), Kariya (black), Kempa (red) are also common.

The confined woman becomes fully purified only at the end of the third month, when she offers Púja to Ganga at a well and visits a temple in the evening. The tonsure ceremony to the child takes place generally in the third year and in the case of Lingáyat Kumbáras, Díksha or the ceremony of initiation into the mysteries of the Lingáyat cult, takes place when the child is about ten years of age.

#### Adoption.

Adoption is allowed and practised when a man has no natural-born son alive. A brother's son or a boy belonging to the same division, is preferred ; but if no such boy is available an outsider may be taken. A man may adopt his daughter's or sister's son, but cannot adopt his own brother. The ceremonies observed are the same as in other castes of a similar status.

#### Marriage.

Marriages may be infant or adult ; but of late, owing to the influence of higher castes, such as Brahmans, infant marriage is becoming very popular among the well-to-do people and those living in towns. As already observed, they have both endogamous and exogamous divisions and there is nothing peculiar to the caste in the matter of prohibited relationships for marriages. Exchange of daughters is allowed but is not common. Polygamy is permitted and is practised only when the first wife either has no children or is afflicted with an incurable disease. But polyandry is unknown.

For settling the marriage, the bridegroom's party go to the girl's house announcing that they wish "to eat sweets." The Oppu Vilya, (ಎತ್ತು ವೀಳು) or agreement by exchange of Tambúla, then takes place and some presents are given to the girl.

The marriage proper may take place either in the boy's or in the girl's house. The first day is devoted to the worship of their family god (god's feast) and to the propitiation of the deceased ancestors by the offerings of clothes and food, before a Kalasa installed in their name. On the evening of that day, a pandal is erected on twelve pillars, one of which, the milk-post, is brought ceremonially by the maternal uncle of either party and set up by married women. In the same night, Arivéni (or sacred pots) are brought from another Kumbára's house.

Next day early in the morning, the bride and the bridegroom get their nails pared and bathe in Maññiru. After presenting some bangles to married women, the girl is made to put on new bangles, and new clothes and ornaments. This is styled Banna Bangára Sástra (ಬನ್ನ ಬಂಗಾರಸಾಸ್ತ್ರ) ceremony of clothing and ornamenting). The bridegroom, in the meanwhile, is dressed in new clothes and conducted to the temple. After a short stay there, when the clothes, jewels, turmeric and other articles are sent to the girl's house, he is taken to the marriage pandal by his parents-in-law, with a Bháshinga tied to the forehead, and a dagger in his hand. An Arati is waved before him at the entrance and then he goes and stands on the dais facing the west. The bride is brought there by her maternal uncle and made to stand opposite to him with a screen dividing the two.

Then the throwing of cummin seed and jaggory on each other's head at the appointed time, pouring of Dháre water, tying of the Táli and Kankanas and other items take place in the usual course as in other castes. After going round the "Milk-post" and worshipping the Arundhati star, the couple bow before the Arivéni pots, get the Bháshingas removed by the maternal uncle and eat the common meal served in dishes before the Arivéni pots.

Among the Sajjana Kumbáras, the Púja of their tribal deity Gundá Brahma is held the next day. All bathe and put on Maḍi (washed) clothes. The image of the god is brought from their Kattémane for the occasion and the

Pūja is done by a man of the Dévara sub-division. After worship, the idol is taken in procession through all the Kumbára streets. On return to the house, the bridal pair make their offerings to the god. Then Tírtha and Prasáda are distributed to all.

The Nágavali takes place the next day, in which the chief events are the bringing of ant-hill earth, worshipping pandal posts and the worship of Simhásana in the evening. The Sajjana Kumbáras are very punctilious in the matter of distribution of Tāmbúlas. For example, fourteen Tāmbúlas must be given for Gauda division, eight Tāmbúlas for each of Dévara and Chaudri divisions and six Tāmbúlas for Madanapu division. Tāmbúlas are also set apart on this occasion for other sections of Kumbáras. This night "Milk-post" is loosened and the next day the bride and the bridegroom, with some of their relatives, go to the bridegroom's village, and after a sojourn of a few days there, the bride returns to her father's house.

Some of them get a Brahman to regulate their ceremonies while others perform them under the direction of their own Gowḍa.

The bride price varies from twenty-five rupees to fifty rupees. A widower has not to pay anything more but, as a matter of fact, an additional jewel styled Savati Bangára (ಸವತಿಬಂಗರ co-wife's gold) is generally demanded.

If the girl has already come of age, the couple are generally allowed to live together from any subsequent auspicious day, without any further ceremony, but some observe the custom of having a separate ceremonial for it. In such a case, the ceremony begins on a Thursday and ends on a Saturday. It is the custom in some places to allow a period of three months to elapse between the marriage and the consummation ceremony.

Puberty.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days, when she is made to live in a shed of green leaves. The usual precautions against the attacks of evil spirits are taken and an elderly woman sleeps with the girl during the nights. She bathes on the fourth day, but is not admitted into the inner part of the house till the sixteenth day has passed, when she is taken to a river and does Gangápūja. If the girl has been already married, the Osage ceremony takes place this day. In the case of unmarried girls, Osage is not observed now but is put off to some day before the ceremonies in connection with the marriage commence.

Widow marriage is generally allowed, but is not popular with some sections, especially that of Sajjana Kumbáras, though some of them seem anxious to reintroduce the practice. Widow marriage.

The remarried widow labours, as in other castes of a smiliar status, under such disadvantages as not entering the marriage pandal and her offspring forming a separate line at least for three generations. The bride-price is Rs. 12½. No regularly married woman takes part in the ceremonies and in some places they do not see the face of the remarried widow for three days.

Divorce is not popular, and takes place only among the more backward portion of the caste living in villages. The divorced woman may not marry a second time. If the divorce is brought about by the adultery of the woman with a man of the same caste, the latter has to pay the aggrieved husband his marriage expenses. Adultery with a man of the same caste may be condoned on payment of a small fine. An unmarried girl becoming pregnant by a man of the same caste may be married to him in the lower form of marriage styled Kúḍaváli (union). Divorce.

Except in the case of lepers or persons who meet with an unnatural death, by wild beasts or otherwise, the corpses of Kumbáras are buried. All carry the dead body in a lying posture, except the Lingáyats, who carry it in a sitting posture and bury it according to the ceremonies observed by other Lingáyats. Among the Sajjana Kumbáras persons carrying the corpse put on a Janivára (sacred thread) and also invest the dead body with one. These threads are removed and thrown into the grave while filling it up. If a widow survives, she is made to exchange Támbúla with the dead body, as indicating a final farewell. After interment all go to a well or a river, bathe and return to see a light kept burning on the spot where the deceased expired. Death ceremony.

The third and eleventh day ceremonies take place as in other castes, such as Okkaligas. They observe pollution for ten days for the nearest agnates, and three days for more distant ones. For the death of a daughter's son, they simply bathe over head to get rid of the pollution. They do not observe Sráddhas, but on the Mahálaya New-moon day, they offer rice doles and money to Brahmans to propitiate all the deceased ancestors.

Kumbáras worship both Siva and Vishnu as well as the ordinary local deities. Even the Lingáyats among Religion.

them, reverence Vishṇu and sometimes bear Vaishṇava names. Their tribal god is known by the name of Kumbhésvara (god of pots) to whom the non-Lingáyat Kumbáras offer animal sacrifice. At Minakanagurki, in the Goribidnur Taluk, there is a temple dedicated to one Kondappa who had been an Avadhúta during his life-time. An annual Játra is held at this spot and they generally take advantage of the occasion to settle their caste disputes.

They worship also the implements of their profession, such as the kiln, Chakra or the wheel, Kòlu or the stick with which they turn the wheel, and the stone used for beating and finally giving shape to the vessels. They hold a grand worship of their tribal god during marriages on the day after the Dháre.

Mópúri Bhairava is another of their special deities of which they often keep an image in their houses for worship.

Occupation.

Kumbáras have generally adhered to their original industry, that is, making of pots and tiles. They used to dye cloths formerly, but that profession has almost completely gone out of use now. The potter is one of the recognised village functionaries, and in places still under the influence of the old customary régime, he gets his yearly fees in kind and supplies earthen pots free to the raiyats. He was also bound to supply pots required for communal purposes, such as Púja of the village deity or common feeding. He ranks higher than the washerman and the barber.

The Kumbára works with the most rudimentary tools. He gets his earth out of a field set apart for the purpose, or digs it out of the bed of a tank. The clay is well mixed by being trodden on, and is generally transported in carts to the place of work. The wheel is made of twigs and leaves bound together on two cross twigs and plastered over with mud mixed with hair or other similar binding material. It turns on a pivot (an iron peg or nail) fixed on a pedestal of mud. He turns it about deftly with a long stick which helps him to do work without bending his back.

The tiles and pots are turned out with considerable speed and they are all dried in the sun and afterwards baked in a round oven in which the articles are placed.

Social  
status.

Kumbáras are regarded as pretty high among the Súdra classes and come next only to Okkaligas and Kurubas. They follow the Hindu law of inheritance. The Kannaḍa section of the Kumbáras, it is said, admit persons of higher castes into their own, but the other division strictly prohibit

such conversion. But all sections readmit persons thrown out of their caste, the usual ceremony, such as procuring them Tirtha and Prasáda, slightly burning the tongue with a gold bit or a margosa twig, being observed. They eat in the houses of Okkaligas and Kurubas, and Bestas, Agasas and Bédas eat in their houses. Kumbáras are flesh eaters, but abstain from liquor. They belong to the Eighteen Phaṇas and their caste sign, namely, the wheel, is shown on the spoon and the ladle, the insignia of the Eighteen Phaṇas, and they are served by the Chalavádi, the servant of their Phaṇa group.

Kumbáras are a well-organised body and each section has its own caste government, but it is said that whenever an important question affecting the whole caste has to be considered, the headmen of all these divisions join together. During marriages not only are the heads of their own groups respected, but those of other divisions are given Maryáda Tábúlas. Thus, it is said, that when a marriage takes place in the house of a Kumbára of the Lingáyat persuasion, Tábúlas are given or sent to the headmen of the non-Lingáyat Kumbára group.

Tribal  
organiza-  
tion.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress. The women of the Sajjana Kumbára section do not put on the nose screw; and when questioned as to the origin of the custom, they say that the man who went to fetch it during a marriage did not return in time and the marriage had to be performed without it. Hence the women could not wear the ornament afterwards. Kumbára women get tattooed between the ages of ten and twenty, with such ordinary designs as a plantain tree, and a bunch of glass bangles (ಬಳ್ಳವೆಲ್ಲಾಕೆ).

Miscellane-  
ous.









(Preliminary Issue)

The  
Ethnographical Survey of Mysore

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XXXIV  
DĒVĀNGAS

BY

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## DÉVANGAS.

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Dévānga (देवाङ्ग) is one of the castes that has Name.  
weaving as its special profession. Several distinct castes which have weaving as their principal occupation have been clubbed together as Néyige or weaving caste. This is inaccurate, as several castes having little in common are included in the generic term—namely, Dévānga, Sāle, Bīli-magga or Kuruvinaru, Paṭvegār, Saurāshṭra or Patnulkar, Sēniga and Togata.

Jādaru which has the same meaning as a weaver is sometimes applied to them especially in the western part of the country\*. They call themselves Dévāngas—i.e., born from the limbs of Gods.

Setṭi is the ordinary ending used to their personal names and denotes respectability. Appa (ಅಪ್ಪ), Ayya (ಅಯ್ಯ) and Anna (ಅಣ್ಣ) to the names of men and Avva (ಅವ್ವ), Amma (ಅಮ್ಮ) and Akka (ಅಕ್ಕ) to those of women are used as honorific additions. Recently some of them who follow the priestly vocation have begun to use the suffix Śāstri, hitherto used exclusively by Smārta Brāhmins.

In the beginning of the world, men went naked and Origin.  
Brahma created Manu to weave clothes for them. The art was, however, soon lost when Manu, attained Mōksha, and people had to cover their shame with leaves and bark. The three Gods met in consultation, and Manu was reincarnated as Dévala or Vidyādhara from the eye on Siva's forehead. Dévala went to fetch the thread for weaving which was obtained from the stalks of the lotus in the navel of Vishnu. Five Rākshasas headed by Vajradanta attacked Dévala and wished to carry away the thread obtained after severe Tapas. On his appeal for divine help to Siva, Pārvati appeared on his side as Chaudēsvari. The Rākshasas had secured a boon from the gods that out of every drop of their blood which touched

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\* A Spider is known as Jādara-hula (ಜಾದರ ಹುಲ) or weaving insect.



the ground, a thousand warriors should spring up to fight for them. To prevent this, the terrible Goddess spread out her tongue, so as to cover the whole battle field, and swallowed all the blood falling from the giants' wounds, and soon vanquished them. Some of the blood was used as colouring matter and gave five colours (black, white, red, green and yellow). Thenceforward Chaudésvari became the tutelary deity of this caste. This Dévala afterwards wove cloths and presented them to Dèvas who, in appreciation of his services, gave him as wife Dèvadatta who is said to have been born from the fire-pit (ਯਜੁਰ-ਕੁੰਡ) in which the seven Rishis performed Yagna. Dèvala then gave clothes to the inhabitants of Pātāla Lōka, and there obtained Nāgadatta as his wife. He gave clothes to men and got Agnidatta from them for his wife. It is said that this personage had seven Avatāras (incarnations), namely, Manu, Vidyādharā, Pushpadanta, Bhētāla, Vararishi, Daivasālī and Dèvadasamayya, the last of which took place in the Kali age.

There are other accounts which place Dèvala on a much higher position. Some say that he is the creator himself and that the Gods of the Triad are his Chēlas or pupils.

Some of this caste claim the rank of Brāhmans\* and style themselves Dēva Brāhmans (Divine-Brāhmans), the Brāhmans being distinguished as Gō-Brāhmans (Cow-Brāhmans). Others are, however, satisfied with the rank of Vaisyas.

The following account is given of their origin in the Baramahal Records.† “When Brahma, the creator, created the *charam* and *acharam*, or the animate and inanimate creation, the *Dēvatas* or Gods, Rākshasas or evil demons, and the human race were without a covering for their bodies, which displeasing the God *Narada* or reason, he waited upon *Paramēswara* or the great Lord at his palace on the *Kailasa Parvata* or mount of Paradise, and represented the indecent state of the inhabitants of the universe and prayed that he would be pleased to devise a covering for their nakedness. *Paramēshwara* saw the propriety of *Narada's* request and thought it was proper to grant it and whilst he was so thinking a male sprung

\* Castes and Tribes of Southern India by E. Thurston, P. 156.

† Section III, Inhabitants, Madras Government Press 1907, pages 179-180.

into existence from his body whom he named *Deva angam* or the body of God in allusion to the manner of his birth. *Deva angam* instantly asked his progenitor why he had created him. The God answered "repair to the *Pala Samudram*, or sea of milk, where thou wilt find *Sri Maha Vishnu*, or the august mighty God Vishnu, and he will tell thee what to do; *Deva angam* repaired to the presence of *Sri Maha Vishnu* and represented that *Paramèswara* had sent him and begged to be favoured with Vishnu's commands." Vishnu replied "Do you weave cloth to serve as a covering to the inhabitants of the universe?" Vishnu then gave him some of the fibres of the lotus flower that grew from his navel, and taught him how to make it into cloth. *Deva angam* wove a piece of cloth and presented it to Vishnu who accepted of it and ordered him to depart and to take the fibres of trees and make raiment for the inhabitants of the Vishnu loka or Gods. *Deva angam* created ten thousand weavers who used to go to the forest and collect the fibres of trees and make it into cloth for the *Devatas* or Gods and the human race. One day *Deva angam* and his tribe went to a forest in the *Bhuloka* or earthly world in order to collect the fibres of trees when he was attacked by a race of *Rakshasas*, giants on which he waxed wrath and unbending his *Jata* or long plaited hair, gave it a twist and struck it once on the ground; in that moment a Shakti or female Goddess having eight hands, each grasping a war-like weapon, sprang from the earth, attacked the *Rakshasas*, and defeated them; *Deva angam* named her Chudèshwari or Goddess of the hair, and as she had delivered his tribe out of the hands of the *Rakshasas* he made her his tutelary divinity."

The Dèvàngas found in the State are divided into Divisions. four endogamous divisions, namely, (1) Sivàchàr Dèvàngas, (2) Kannada Dèvàngas, comprising Siryadavaru (of Sirà) and Hadinenṭu Maneyavaru (of eighteen houses), (3) Telugu Dèvàngas and (4) Haṭagàraru. The Sivàchar Dèvàngas appear to be converts to Lingàyatism from the other Dèvàngas; but they say that they are Lingàyats from the beginning and that the other divisions must have become degraded by losing the Linga. This however seems to be the reverse of what actually occurred. Kannada and Telugu sections were at first merely linguistic divisions, but have crystalised into separate endogamous groups. The subdivision Hadinenṭu Maneyavaru (those of

eighteen families) among the Kannada Dēvaṅgas owes its origin to a secession from the main groups of those who adopted some heterodox practices. There are two derivations given to the term Haṭagāraru. One is that they are the handloom weavers *hat* meaning hand and the other that they are *stubborn* or obstinate referring to the following incident.

At one time all the Dēvaṅgas were Lingāyats; subsequently one of their number became a religious preacher and induced them to give up the Linga and wear the sacred thread instead. Those who obstinately stuck to the new form of religion were known as Haṭagāraru. Some of the Haṭagāras however appear to have latterly gone back into Lingāyatism, because there are Lingāyat and non-Lingāyat Haṭagāras.

**Exogamous divisions.**

Kannada Dēvaṅgas, Telugu Dēvaṅgas and Haṭagāras have exogamous divisions some of which have names borrowed from objects considered sacred. Along with these which they call Bedagus, some of them also give out eponymous Gōtras. A list of all these divisions is given in the Appendix.

**Birth ceremonies.**

After childbirth, Lingāyats observe no pollution, while other Dēvaṅgas observe it for ten days. All however have a purificatory ceremony on the eleventh day. Lingāyats inviting a Jangama and others a priest of their own caste. The inviting of Brāhmans for ceremonies has of late been given up. The ceremonies up to name-giving are nearly the same as among parallel castes.

**Adoption.**

When there is no male issue, they resort to adoption, and there is nothing special in the rules about the selection of the boy and the method of affiliation.

**Dikshe.**

Among the Lingāyat Dēvaṅgas, the Dikshe or the initiation ceremony takes place when the child is about ten years of age. A Jangama priest is called to officiate at this ceremony. The novice is bathed and is made to take his seat on a wooden plank. The priest installs in front of the child five Kalasas, one at each corner and the fifth in the centre of a parallelogram drawn with quartz powder. The Kalasas are worshipped in the usual manner, the priest reciting Mantras. The Linga which the boy has been wearing is washed seven times with milk, ghee, butter, sugar and honey, which are collectively called Panchamruta (ಪಂಚಾಮೃತ) and the priest then ties it to the boy whispering in his ears some Mantras. Then Dakshine

(money) and Tàmbúla are distributed and the father of the boy gives a dinner to the Jangamas and Dèvàngas.

Among the Kannada and Telugu Dèvàngas, the corresponding ceremony known as Upanayana is observed as part of the marriage ceremony and takes place on the Lagna day.

Marriage among the Dèvàngas of all divisions may be either adult or infant. A woman may remain unmarried all her lifetime and there are said to be some rare cases, in which women have been leading single lives, sometimes as religious ascetics. In recent times, however, infant marriages are becoming more popular and are supposed to enhance the social status of the caste. The full funeral rites are not observed to dispose of bodies of persons dying unmarried; but some of them get posthumous honours as Íragàraru. Marriage.

In marriages, one has to seek a girl within one's own group, but outside the Bedagu or Gòbra. An elder sister's daughter may be taken and is in fact considered the most proper person to marry, but the daughter of a younger sister may not be married. A man may marry his maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter, but not the daughter of his paternal uncle or maternal aunt, as this relationship is regarded as that of a sister. A man may marry two sisters, but not simultaneously, and two brothers may marry two sisters. Exchange of daughters is allowed and practised. Polygamy is allowed but practised only in such exceptional cases, as barrenness or incurable disease in the first wife.

The boy's father as usual makes the first move and the preliminary agreement of Vilyada Prasta is much the same as in other castes. The marriage ceremonies generally take place in the boy's house.

One or two days previous to the actual beginning of the ceremonies, the boy and the girl to be married are smeared with turmeric in their own places; and a feast is held in honour of their tribal Goddess (Chaudèsvari) and the family ancestors. Then the bride and her party set out for the bridegroom's place.

The putting up of the marriage shed on twelve pillars, the chief or milk post being brought by the maternal uncle, the bringing of Arivèni pots and holy water (ಶತ್ಪುರೋಹಿತ) by five married women walking all the way on cloths spread in the street, are the next events.

The next day, after nail paring and bathing in Male-niru of both the parties, the boy is taken to a temple and seated on a Kumbly (woollen blanket). The bridegroom's party pass and repass three times carrying the marriage presents to the bride's house and then the bride's people come to welcome the bridegroom in the temple. Some turmeric paste is rubbed over him, handfuls of rice (Sase) thrown on his head and in procession he is taken to the marriage Pandal.

If the parties are not Lingayats, the Upanayana takes place and the boy gets his sacred thread, purification (Punyaha), Homa and other ceremonies taking place as in other higher castes. Then the boy is taken to a Peepul tree where he is met by the parents of the bride who wash his feet and bring him to the marriage Pandal for marriage. The girl is then brought there and the bride and the bridegroom are made to stand facing each other with a screen between them. The Purôhit chants Mantras, the screen is removed at the appointed hour and the bridal pair put cummin seed and jaggory on each other's heads. Then follow the Dhare or giving away the girl, the tying of the Tâli, the rice-pouring ceremony and the tying of the Kanakas. Afterwards Pân-supâri and Dakshinë (money) are distributed to all. The couple rise, walk seven times round the Homa fire holding each other by the hand with the fringes of their garments knotted together, go round the milk post three times and worship Arundhati after walking seven steps in the open air. Then they go to the Arivëni room, and after bowing to the pots, return to join the dinner.\* In the evening the couple are made to sit together before a gathering of married women and other relations, and chew betel leaves and nuts, the bride handing them over to the bridegroom and the latter returning the compliment.

On the second day takes place Nâgavali. The couple bathe after nail paring, and bring earth from an anthill, which they make into balls and place near the pandal posts. and make Pûja. Some married women are fed and presented

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\* In some places, *e.g.*, Channagiri, the couple sit before the Arivëni pots and eat Buvva. Food is served in two dishes, and the bride and her near relatives and the bridegroom and his relations sit at their respective dishes for eating it. At the end, the bridegroom hands over a morsel to the bride which she eats. The bridegroom pays down eight annas to the bride's people who wash the dishes.

with Bágina. After pot-searching, the Kankanas are removed. After a night procession, the bride's entry to her husband's house takes place.

Next day they bathe in Ókuli water \* and the milk post of the Pandal is removed. The couple are then taken to the girl's village and return after a day or two.

The bride price is generally fixed at seven pagodas or Rs. 21, and some times Rs. 9 is added. In some places it is said to range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 500. Some receive the price under the euphemistic term of Bhūri Dakshina, while others have almost given up the practice. As regards marriage expenses also there is no uniform standard. It is said that till the Dhāre ceremony, the expenses are incurred by the girl's father and then the boy's father has to pay for Dakshina and give two dinners.

A widower has to pay double the bride price.

When a girl attains her age, she is considered as impure Puberty. and is bathed and an Ārati is waved to her by married women. Being under pollution, she sits by herself for ten days either in a shed built of green leaves or in a separate corner of the house, a twig of Alangium Lamarekii (ಅಂಕಿಲೇಶ) being stuck at the place to ward off evil spirits. In the evening she is exhibited in the company of married women (who do not touch her) and is presented with fruits, flowers, turmeric and kunkuma. She is during this time fed on nutritious food, and is not allowed to walk barefooted and during nights she is kept awake for fear of molestation from evil spirits. On the eleventh day she bathes, and the house is purified by the Puróhit and a dinner given to their caste people. The girl, however, does not get rid of the pollution till the sixteenth day is over, when, if she is already married, the consummation of marriage takes place. The latter ceremony is finished in one day. In the morning the couple are anointed and bathed. In some places they observe the ceremonies of the worship of the nine planets, Hóma, etc., but generally this is dispensed with. The couple are seated together in the night in the company of their relatives and castemen and they distribute Pān-supāri and cocoanuts before going to their nuptial couch.

With regard to widow marriage, the practice is Widow not uniform. In some places, in Channagiri in the marriage.

\* Ókuli (ಅಂಕಿಲೇಶ) is water coloured red with turmeric and chunam. Those engaged in the sport or ceremony squirt this on each other.

Shimoga District, for instance, it is allowed and fairly common. In some other places, *e.g.*, Bangalore and Mysore Districts, it is said to be not in vogue. In the Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts, the practice is allowed. In Madras "Widow marriage is permitted in some places and forbidden in others."\* The custom appears to have been at one time common and has gradually fallen into disfavour. The following is quoted from the "Baramahal Records," page 183, Section III, a work written in the closing years of the 13th century. "In this sect (Dévāngas) widows are permitted to marry a second husband but if she has children by her first husband, her parents are obliged to give nine chakras to them. When a person contracts himself in marriage to a widow, he only pays her parents thirty sultan fanams; if she has none living, the money is to be divided among her relations. If the widow has no children at the time of her second marriage, her parents are to pay six chakras out of the nine to the brother or brothers of the deceased. The children of such a second marriage are received into the sect."

Adultery  
and  
divorce.

Adultery on the part of a woman is regarded with abhorrence and she is thrown out of caste and cannot be re-admitted. Divorce is allowed only on the ground of the wife's adultery and the divorced woman is not allowed to remarry.

Death  
ceremonies

Dévāngas bury the dead. The Lingāyat or Sivāchar Dévāngas observe the ceremonies peculiar to the followers of that religion in disposing of the body, such as washing the feet of the Guru, sipping the water, placing the body in the grave in a sitting posture, and the Guru placing his feet on the head of the corpse. They observe no pollution but perform the third day and eleventh day ceremonies. There are some Dévāngas who are styled Tirunāmadhāris or Dāsa Jana and these observe the ceremonies peculiar to that cult, inviting a Dāsayya or Sātāni priest and worshipping the Chakra. But the major portion of the Dévāngas who are neither Lingāyats nor Dāsa Jana observe the usual ceremonies. As soon as a person is dead, his body is washed and wrapped up in a new shroud. It is carried in a lying posture on the shoulders of four men and is buried with the face turned towards the south.

\* Castes and Tribes of Southern India, by E. Thurston, Vol. II, P. 163.

After the corpse is disposed of, the party bathe and return home and look at a light kept on the spot where the life expired. On the third day, the son accompanied by some elderly relatives goes to the burial ground and bathing in a river, erects a small shed on the grave in which a figure of the deceased is drawn. Food with vegetable is cooked there, and offered to it after burning incense; and is afterwards thrown to crows. After they return home the corpse-bearers have their shoulders smeared with ghee and milk and washed with soap-nut. All the agnates eat together. On the eleventh day, the agnates including the son bathe to get rid of the pollution. A Purôhit is called in to purify the house. Then a Kalasa in the name of the deceased is set up and worshipped. Then rice, money, sandals, umbrellas and other articles are distributed to enable the deceased getting these things on his journey to the other world. Generally a cow\* is given away to the Purôhit. Prayers are then offered for the salvation of the soul of the deceased. Then a party repair to the graveyard, burn incense and offer cocoanut to the deceased, and also some rice boiled together with pulses. On return, they go to a temple, offer worship to the god and pray for forgiveness of the sins of the deceased, and for the opening of the doors of Vaikuntha.† Then a dinner is given to all the castemen in memory of the deceased. Pollution is observed for ten days for the death of an adult agnate, three days for that of an infant. There is no period of mourning for the death of a daughter's son or other relative; in the former case they all bathe. When under pollution, they do not put on their caste marks, abstain from sweet things and milk, and suspend their daily work.

Dêvângas do not generally observe Srâddhâs, but on the first anniversary of the day, they worship a Kalasa and feed their castemen. Recently some have taken to performing Srâddhâs on the day corresponding with the date of death. For the propitiation of the ancestors in general they observe the Mahâlâyâ Amâvâsya and distribute doles in the names of the dead. In common with other castes of similar status, they observe Huvilya ceremony to

\* This is said to furnish a cow to the deceased for crossing the river of fire (holding its tail) in his passage to the Yamalôka to receive his judgment.

† In some places this ceremony is observed on the next day which is styled Vaikuntha Samârâdane.



propitiate deceased females who predeceased their husbands; and whenever she wears a new cloth for the first time, the second wife of a man distributes Pàn-supàri and jaggory syrup, etc., to propitiate the spirit of the first wife.

Religion.

The Lingayat Dèvángas are strict Śaivas. Other Dèvángas worship both Vishnu and Siva without any distinction. All have family Gods either of the Vishnu or the Siva group. They worship also the Village Gods and Goddesses Māramma, Muniswara and others. The distinction known as Dāsajana and Mullujana also obtains among them, in some parts the former being strict Vaishnavas. Among the Mullujana there are Jōgis, that is, those that dedicate themselves to the worship of Bhaire Dèvaru of Chunchangiri (Nagamangala Taluk). They undergo the ceremony known as Dikshe when a Bairagi of the Chunchanagiri Maṭha bores a hole in the lobe of the right ear with a knife. This individual has a whistle called Singanāda suspended to his neck and has to sound it whenever he makes Pūja.

Their tribal Goddess is known as Chaudèsvari, and also as Bana Sankari. She is held to be an incarnation of Pārvati, who came down to help Dèvala when he was attacked by Rākshasas while bringing down the thread for weaving from Vishnu. The image is kept in temples and also Katte-manes. They have Pūjāris of their own caste, and the Yajmān has charge of the idols at the Katte-mane, where every year they have a festival lasting for three days in honour of this Goddess.

They hold a special celebration on a much grander scale at intervals of five or ten years. The expenses which come to about 200 or 300 rupees are met by contributions from members under several Katte-manes. Pandals are raised in some large grove to accommodate the people and the gathering continues for four or five days.

A number of young men, generally one from each family, are chosen as Alagu Komāraru (ಅಲಗು ಕೊಮ್ಮರರು sword boys) who must remain in the Pandal all through the festival without going to their homes. They are taken to bathe in a water-course where they worship Ganga (water) and are smeared with turmeric paste and dressed in yellow clothes. They are brought back in procession, and purify themselves by drinking Gômūtra with

turmeric and tying Kankana threads to their wrists. They may not touch cooked food but should live on milk and fruits. In the evening, these young men go in procession to a pond or well outside the town and after Pūja to Ganga proclaim loudly that they would come there the next day to take water for the worship. Thereafter a watch is kept near the pond and no one is allowed to touch the water.

Early in the morning the next day, the Alagu Komārars bathe and dress in yellow clothes. The Setṭis and Yajamāns, the Pūjāri and other functionaries of the tribal constitution and all the castemen\* gather near the Pandal and go in procession with music and band to the consecrated pond or well. The Pūjāri sets up a Kalasa in a dish filling it with the water taken from the pond or well, decorates it with arca flowers, and worships it. A blunt sword smeared over with turmeric is handed to each of these boys who flourish them in the air and strike their chests with the edge of the swords. Then a large number of cocoanuts are broken and the procession moves slowly to the Pandal where a Kalasa is installed and a sword is balanced over it. Exercises of swordmanship are exhibited by the Alagu Komārs and the Pūjāri.

Next day a Jyōti or light is worshipped. The receptacle and the stand for the light are made of rice mixed with jaggory and cocoanut and pounded into paste. The rice for the purpose must be collected fresh from a field and by a person clothed in Maḍi (clean state). Formerly this light was being paraded throughout the village, and this practice is now given up, on account of the light, it is said, once having flown up a cocoa-nut tree and refused to come down till a human being was sacrificed. Consequently the light, the Kalasa and the swords are worshipped in the Pandal.

The next day (*i.e.*, the last day) jaggory water and soaked pulses are distributed among the caste people. After this, the Kalasa, the light and the swords are taken in procession to the pond and there worshipped. Then the water in the Kalasa is emptied into the pond, and the light extinguished. The lampstand is broken up and the sweet paste distributed as prasāda. Afterwards all return to the Pandal and have a dinner.

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\*Note.—It is said that no woman is allowed to go with the procession lest casually the monthly sickness may occur and cause pollution by contact.

Another tribal god is Rāmalinga to whom temples are built in large towns.

They have belief in oracles, omens and soothsayers and consult them.

**Gurus.**

Their Guru is the Swami of the Hampe maṭha in the Bellary District, who is believed to be the direct descendant of Dēvala, their progenitor. Formerly this maṭha was very influential but in course of time it was broken up into five minor maṭhas, the more important of which are the maṭhas at Bettigere, Gadag, Kadakola and (Shapur) Belgaum, all in the Bombay Presidency. The Guru may be a celibate or a married man. He makes periodical visits to his disciples and collects contributions from them. He is assisted by a lieutenant who tours with him, holds enquiries and settles disputes. When the questions are of grave nature, they are decided by the Guru himself. During such visits, the disciples are favoured with Tirtha and Prasāda. Recently the head maṭha at Hampe has been revived and a new Swami has been installed therein.

The Lingāyat Dēvāngas acknowledge Nidamāmadi Kari Vrishbhēndraswāmi as their Guru.

**Social  
Status.**

Dēvāngas occupy a high position in the scale of castes claiming to be superior to Okkaligas. They even advance a claim to be regarded as Brāhmins, which, however, is not admitted by others. Formerly Brāhmins acted as their priests, but are being replaced by men of their own caste. Outsiders are not admitted into the caste, but those who have degraded themselves by irregular or improper practices may be readmitted after purification.

They follow the usual law of inheritance. In making partition of lands, it is considered correct to give the youngest son the easternmost or the northernmost plot. Partition is usually effected before a Panchāyat, meeting in the temple of the tribal God for the sake of ensuring honesty and truthfulness on the part of the rival claimants.

Dēvāngas belong to the Nine Phana or the Left-hand group of castes. They have their own set of dancing women who are prohibited from serving at assemblies of rival group of castes.

**Food.**

In the matter of food and drink, the Lingāyat Dēvāngas are vegetarians and teetotallers, and the others are gradually coming up to that standard.

The Lingayat Dēvāngas and Jangams dine with each other. Of the other sections, some eat in the houses of Brāhmins and the others refuse to do so.

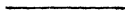
The Dēvāngas have Kattē-manes with jurisdiction over a limited area and presided over by Setṭis and Yajamāns. The beadle of the caste is known as Mudre Manushya (Signet-man). These Kattē-manes take cognizance of matters over which courts established by law have no authority.

Caste  
Govern-  
ment.

The caste has its class of dependants or Haḷa-Makkaḷu, who go by the name of Singadavaru or hornmen. They are said to wear both a Linga and a sacred thread. Their Guru has always one of this class among his followers on his tours of visitation. The Singadavaru are also rewarded with presents raised by contribution whenever they visit Dēvānga people independently. They are said to be the repository of the history and tradition of this caste.

The caste as a whole have weaving as their occupation, but they generally follow agriculture also and some times make it their exclusive occupation. The imported yarn is purchased and woven in hand-loom. Though it has suffered from competition with machinery, the trade is carried on on a fairly large scale. The weavers are generally poor and have to borrow from money-lenders to whom the finished products are mortgaged in advance. Government have been taking steps to introduce better looms and encourage co-operation, and some amelioration has resulted in the condition of this large class of artisans. Still, the low returns of trade combined with some improvident habits have left them poor as a class, liable to suffer most in seasons of famine or scarcity.

Occupation



## APPENDIX.

(List of Exogamous divisions.)

| I. Kannada Dèvàngas. |             | Meaning of term.     |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| Ambali               | (ಅಂಬಲಿ)     | Gruel.               |
| Arivàṇa              | (ಅರಿವಾಣ)    | A pot.               |
| Baṇṇa                | (ಬಣ್ಣ)      | Colour.              |
| Bàle                 | (ಬಾಳ)       | Plantain.            |
| Belli                | (ಬೆಳ್ಳಿ)    | Silver.              |
| Benne                | (ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ)    | Butter.              |
| Basàpatra            | (ಬಸಾಪತ್ರೆ)  |                      |
| Chokkamaru           | ಚೊಕ್ಕಮರು    |                      |
| Dabbe                | (ದಾಬ್ಬೆ)    | Bamboo.              |
| Doddatala            | (ದೊಡ್ಡತಲೆ)  | Large head.          |
| Guddina              | (ಗುಟ್ಟಿನ)   |                      |
| Hosakere             | (ಹೊಸಕೆರೆ)   | Name of a place.     |
| Kallukòte            | (ಕಲ್ಲುಕೋಟೆ) | Do                   |
| Kanakana             | (ಕನಕನ)      |                      |
| Kadaga               | (ಕಡಗ)       | A wristlet.          |
| Kachchòru            | (ಕಚ್ಚೊರೆ)   |                      |
| Kòranalli            | (ಕೊರಾನ್ಲಿ)  |                      |
| Machehe              | (ಮಚ್ಚೆ)     | A mole or mark.      |
| Mande                | (ಮಂಡ)       | Head.                |
| Màdèva               | (ಮಾದೇವ)     |                      |
| Muchchala            | (ಮುಚ್ಚಳ)    | Iid.                 |
| Mùremme              | (ಮೂರೆಮ್ಮ)   | Three she buffaloes. |
| Muttu.               | (ಮುತ್ತ)     | Pearl.               |
| Ondu Màtu            | (ಒಂದು ಮಾತು) | One word.            |
| Oṇṭemme              | (ಒಂಟೆಮ್ಮ)   | Single she buffalo.  |
| Petṭige              | (ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ)  | Box.                 |

|            |               |                |
|------------|---------------|----------------|
| Punagu     | (పునగు)       | Civet.         |
| Roddagàrru | (రొడ్డగొర్రు) |                |
| Sappe      | (సప్పే)       | Insipid.       |
| Sanje      | (సంజే)        | Twilight.      |
| Séje       | (సేజే)        |                |
| Sobagu     | (సోబగు)       | Ornamentation. |
| Totlu      | (తోట్లు)      | Cradle.        |
| Vambāle    | (వంబాళి)      | Areca flower.  |

## II. Telugu Dévàngas.

|           |           |                             |
|-----------|-----------|-----------------------------|
| Anumalu   | అనుమలు    | Dolichos lablab Lin.        |
| Bandi     | బండి      | Cart.                       |
| Bantha    | బంత       | Quilt.                      |
| Chimāla   | చీమల      | Ant.                        |
| Chinta    | చింత      | Tamarind.                   |
| Chapparam | చప్పరం    | Pandal.                     |
| Dūde      | గూడి      | Cotton.                     |
| Duggāni   | దుఘాణి    | A two-pie piece.            |
| Enumala   | ఎనుమల     | Buffalo.                    |
| Gòduma    | గోదమ      | Wheat.                      |
| Hāraka    | హారక      | Pashupam Scrobiculatum Lin. |
| Jīlkara   | జీలకర     | Cumin seed.                 |
| Maṭham    | మఠం       | Monastery.                  |
| Nalugu    | నాలుగు    |                             |
| Onti      | ఒంటి      | Single.                     |
| Pichhiga  | పిచ్చిక   | Sparrow.                    |
| Roddagāri | రొడ్డగారి |                             |
| Santa     | సంత       | Fair.                       |
| Sajja     | సజ్జ      | Holcus spicatus Roxb        |
| Uddi      | ఉడ్డి     | Black gram.                 |

## III. Haṭagārars.

|         |         |           |
|---------|---------|-----------|
| Arasina | (అరసిం) | Turmeric. |
| Dévi    | (దేవి)  | Goddess.  |
| Gadige  | (గాడిగ) | Pot,      |

|             |              |            |
|-------------|--------------|------------|
| Honnubágina | (ಹೊನ್ನಬಾಗಿನ) | Gold.      |
| Honnungura  | (ಹೊನ್ನಂಗುರ)  | Gold ring. |
| Kalasa      | (ಕಳಶ)        | Vase.      |
| Sakkare     | (ಸಕ್ಕರೆ)     | Sugar.     |
| Sinhàsana   | (ಸಿಂಹಾಸನ)    | Throne.    |

In addition to the above, the Dèvàngas have returned the following eponymous divisions :—

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Bhàskara Rishi Gôtra | (ಭಾಸ್ಕರ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).    |
| Dhaunya do           | (ಧೌವ್ಯ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).     |
| Chitravarga do       | (ಚಿತ್ರವರ್ಗ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ). |
| Màlika do            | (ಮಾಲಿಕ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).     |
| Màndavya do          | (ಮಾಂಡವ್ಯ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).   |
| Manu do              | (ಮನು ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).       |
| Pippala do           | (ಪಿಪ್ಪಲ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).    |
| Ràja Mahà do         | (ರಾಜಮಹಾ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).    |
| Sringa do            | (ಶೃಂಗ ಋಷಿ ಗೋತ್ರ).      |

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(Preliminary Issue.)

**The**  
**Ethnographical Survey of Mysore.**

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**XXVII**

**SADAS.**

BY

**H. V. NANJUNDAYYA, M.A., M.I.**

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## SADAS.

In the Census Report of 1901, Sadas have been included in the main caste Jains and their population is returned as 173 males and 214 females. These figures are misleading and the caste is certainly very much stronger. It is presumed that these numbers represent only the Sadas who call themselves Jains and do not include a large portion of the caste who are, to use the expression of the Census Report "still within the pale of Hinduism" and the Lingayet Sadas who are even larger in number and are found in parts of Shimoga and Chitaldrug Districts.

The caste is commonly known as Sadaru (ಸಾಧು) and the members of the caste style themselves as Sadu matastharu (ಸಾಧುಮಾತೃಕರು). The honorific ending added to their personal names is Gauda.

They are said to be so called on account of their strict abstinence from flesh and liquor, the term Sada being a modified form of Sanskrit word Sādhu, meaning gentle or tame.

Their language is Kannada, and they have stuck to it wherever they may be living, but they also know the language of locality. Comparatively a larger percentage of the caste know how to read and write the Vernacular language but only a very few have learnt English.

Sadas are said to have been originally Jains, but when Vishnuvarddhana was converted by Ramanujacharya into Vaishnavism, some only escaped the religious persecution and remained in their original faith. Some again were converted into Lingayatism by the Lingayet Reformer Basavanna and his followers. Thus the caste which appears to have originally been a homogeneous one was split up into three sections, Lingayet Sadas, Non-Lingayet Sadas and Sadas who have more or less a belief in Jainism. The Hindu Sadas worship both Siva and Vishnu without preference to either, but the Jain Sadas worship the Tirthankaras of the Jains but respect the Hindu gods also. Lingayets and Jains have no commensality with each other, but other Sadas eat in their houses. It is said that all the non-Lingayet Sadas eat together and

Origin.

Divisions

intermarry. It is reported that the Sadas who call themselves Jains do not observe the rules of conduct peculiar to Jainism, such as, not eating after sunset, and abstaining from taking life. They are, however, showing a tendency to assimilate themselves with other Jains by abandoning the service of Brahman priests and the practice of eating in their houses.

There are no exogamous divisions among non-Lingayets, though two sub-divisions known as Huvvinavaru (ಹುವ್ವಿನವರು) and Hongeyavaru (ಹೊಂಗೆಯವರು) are found near Koratagere. Those styled Hongeyavaru do not burn Honge (Pongamia glabra) wood or use the oil, but have made an exception from necessity in favour of using leaves as manure. The Lingayet Sadas have a large number of exogamous divisions, several of which bear the names of plants, animals and other material articles, but they do not show any respect to the thing after which their division is called by either worshipping it or, abstaining from cutting or otherwise interfering with it. A list of Exogamous divisions is given in the Appendix.

Child  
birth.

It is the recognised custom among them to bring the daughter to the father's house for first and sometimes even the second delivery. On an auspicious day in the seventh or the ninth month, the mother-in-law or some other elderly female member of her (pregnant woman's) husband's family presents the woman while in her father's house with a new cloth (Sire) and a Ravike and decks her with flowers. During the wife's pregnancy, the husband observes the usual abstinences, such as, not carrying a corpse, and not touching the milk post, and in some places he does not shave his head after the seventh month.

On the birth of a child, the woman is considered impure for ten days during which time she remains confined in a room. The near agnatic relations of the family are in a state of partial pollution, but may go to temples and take part in their agricultural operations. On the eleventh day, the mother and the child are seated on a plank kept on a small pit excavated by the husband in the verandah, and bathed by married women, the neighbours each contributing a pot of water and some soapnut paste. Before carrying the child inside, a metal eating-dish is beaten like a gong by an elderly woman, who calls on evil spirits to snatch it away if they dare, warning them that it would be too late after going inside, as their household god

would prove too strong for them, when once the child was placed under his protection. \*

The child is put into a cradle in the evening and named by an elderly woman of the family.

Lingayet Sadas do not observe birth pollution, but as in other castes, the woman is confined to bed for six or seven days, after which she bathes. On the first day, after consecrating it in the usual way, a Janganna priest presents the child with a Linga which the mother keeps and puts on the child when it grows to be three or four years old.

It is said that formerly, the Lingayets were marrying girls from the non-Lingayet Sadas, but this practice has almost gone out of use. But there is no such prohibition as regards the other two sections. Among Sadas who are not Lingayets, there are no exogamous divisions, the two divisions of Huvvinavaru and Hongeyavaru having no significance in this connection. The only rule of prohibition observed by them in regard to marriages is the real or conventional relationship between the marrying couple of parent and child, brother and sister. The daughters of a paternal uncle and maternal aunt are both called sisters and have to be avoided, but the daughter of a paternal aunt or maternal uncle are both in a marriageable relation. Exchange of daughters between two families is allowable. Marriage.

The proposal for marriage should properly emanate from the male's side. A Brahman astrologer is generally consulted to determine astrological affinity by reference to the names of the two parties.

On an auspicious day, the boy and his father with some married women repair to the girl's house. The boy and the girl are seated together on a plank and sometimes the Tera amount which varies from Rs. 12 to Rs. 25 is paid down before the caste people. The girl is presented with a new Sire and a jewel which she puts on. Married women rub the boy and the girl with turmeric and the engagement is announced and Tambulas are exchanged between the two parties in the presence of an assembly. Both parties are bound by this agreement.

\* This custom has given rise to a proverb which means "which woman beat the gong and proclaimed you a male (ಗಂಡಾ ಅಂತ ಗಂಗಾಳ ಬಾ ಲಿಸಿದವಳಲ್ಲರೇ ?)"



After this Vilyada-sastra, the bridegroom's party. have to present the girl's parents with ' provisions for the marriage consisting of 300 seers of rice, 25 seers of dhall, 3 maunds of jaggory, 20 seers of ghee, a maund of areca-nuts, and 500 betel leaves.

Soon after this takes place Devaruta (or God's feast), when the bride and the bridegroom pour milk on an ant-hill and worship a kalasa. Next day is known as Nadu-madavaniga Sastra when the boy and the girl each in their own place are rubbed with turmeric paste. The marriage pandal is raised the next day.

The marriage takes place generally in the house of the bride and her maternal uncle brings the pole of Kalli wood which has to serve as the milk post and keeps it in a temple. In the evening both parties repair to the temple in state and they bring home the pole along with Ariveni pots and instal them in the pandal.

Early in the morning, the next day, the boy and the girl are bathed in Malenru (ಮಲೇನುರ), and the boy is dressed in new clothes and sent to a temple where he sits on a Kam-bli in the company of his relations and with the best man (ಜೊರವು ಮದವನಿಗೆ) by his side. His maternal uncle ties Bhashinga on his forehead and married women rub him with turmeric paste. From the temple all the wedding clothes, jewels and other articles intended for the bride are sent to her, carried on a plate twice. The third time the bridegroom is taken to the pandal by the girl's party. Then the ceremonies of putting gingelly and cummin seeds by the bridal pair on each other's heads, tying of the Tali, pouring of rice, and other events take place in the prescribed order as in other castes. The couple go round the milk posts with the hems of their garments knotted together and are shown the Arundhati Star. They then go into the room in which the Ariveni pots are installed dropping gingelly and cummin seeds as they go along. After bowing before the sacred pots, they have the Bhashingas removed and the couple and their near relations eat Buyva (common meal.)

Among the Lingayet Sadas the ceremony styled Gindi-prasta (ಗಿಂಡಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾ) is observed the next day. The bridegroom goes away from the marriage house pretending to be dissatisfied with the girl. The latter sets out carrying with her a brass vessel with a spout called Gindi. She finds him out and appeases him by presenting the vessel.

\* This presentation is known as (ಸೂಕಮಂಚಿ ಅಳಿಯವುದು.)

They are seated together, rubbed with turmeric paste and conducted back in state to the girl's house. In the night, a procession of the bridal party takes place.

Next day Nagavali takes place when the posts of the pandal are worshipped. The Kankanas are removed and tied to the milk post. The married couple are not allowed to remain in the marriage house that night. They go to the bridegroom's house and return after remaining there two or three days. If however the bridegroom's village is too far off, they are taken to a neighbour's house, where they spend the night.

When a girl attains puberty, she is considered impure for three days when she is kept outside in a shed of green leaves, erected by her maternal uncle. In the evenings the girl is exhibited before a company of married women when she is presented with flowers, pan-supari and dried cocoanut and sweets. Early in the morning on the fourth day, the shed is pulled down by the maternal uncle and the materials are burnt at some distance from the village. The girl bathes and is admitted into the house; for a month, however, she is not allowed to enter the inner apartments. Girls who are married after puberty do not begin to live with their husbands till after three months of the marriage. Puberty.

The non-Lingayet Sadas strictly prohibit widow marriage. But among the Lingayet section, such remarriages are common. A bachelor is not allowed to marry a widow and the married women are not allowed to see the married widow on the day of the marriage. After negotiations for such a marriage are settled with the father of the widow, she is brought in the evening of the appointed day to the lover's village and is lodged in a temple. The lover goes there with some other men, and presents her with a Sirc and a bodice cloth which she wears. Glass bangles are put on to her wrists and in the assembly of castemen, the man and in some places a remarried widow, ties a Tali to her. She is conducted to the man's house which is kept dark and vacant. The man goes into it and sits in a corner. The woman enters it when the man asks her why she has come there. She replies "I have come to light a lamp in your dark house." Then a light is lit; and the caste men are served a dinner. Widow marriage.

Adultery is regarded with abhorrence, and a woman proved to be in criminal intimacy with another is excommunicated. They do not dedicate girls as Basavis. Adultery.

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Death ceremonies.   | Sadas bury the dead. The ceremonies observed by the Lingayet section are the same as those of other Lingayets and the non-Lingayets observe the ceremonies similar to those of Morasu Okkalu. Both the sections observe pollution for the first ten days. To propitiate all the deceased ancestors, they worship a Kalasa with offerings of food and clothes on the Mahalaya Amāvāsye and some other important days such as Yugadi. Some non-Lingayets have of late begun to perform Kāla Sraddhas.   |
| Religion.           | Lingayet Sadas are Saivas but respect Vaishnava Gods also and some have Vaishnava Gods as their family deities. The non-Lingayets worship all the Gods of the other Hindus. Some have in recent times adopted the Jaina mode of worship and pay special respect to the Tirthankaras. All pay respect to the village Goddesses, such as Maramma and Marigamma.   |
| Occupation.         | Sadas are all cultivators and have adhered to this profession in the main. Most of the patels in the parts of the State where Sadas are found are of this caste. Some have adopted other professions such as trade and Government service.  |
| Social status.      | Sadas rank high in social status, as they are strict vegetarians and totally abstain from liquor.<br>They follow the Hindu Law of inheritance and believe in omens, sorcery, witchcraft and soothsaying.<br>They do not admit outsiders into their caste. Their Gurus are Brahmins of the Srivaishnava section. The Lingayet Sadas have a Guru of their own caste in a Matha at Sirigere in the Chitaldrug District.  |
| Caste organization. | Lingayet Sadas eat in the houses of only Lingayets, and Jangamas, and the non-Lingayet Sadas eat in the houses of Brahmans, Jains and Lingayets.<br>Sadas have a regular system of caste Government. They are divided into groups at the head of each of which is a Kattēmane presided over by a Ganda who settles all the caste disputes. If the disputes are of a serious nature, the heads of several Kattēmanes join and decide them and sometimes they are submitted to their Guru. A Helava is their Halemaga and they have to pay him some customary fees whenever he pays them a visit. |

## APPENDIX. A

## EXOAMOUS DIVISIONS OF LINGAYET SĀDAS.

- 1 Adiké (ಅಡಿಕೆಯವರು) Arecanut.
- 2 Àlé (ಆಲೆ) a herb.
- 3 Baicha (ಬೈಚ) ?.
- 4 Ballāla (ಬಲ್ಲಾಳ)
- 5 Béle (ಬೇಲೆ) Dhall.
- 6 Belle (ಬೆಳ್ಳೆ) a herb.
- 7 Bilegudāra (ಬಿಳೇಗುಡಾರ) White tent.
- 8 Benne (ಬೆಣ್ಣೆ) Butter.
- 9 Chitta (ಚಿತ್ತ) a Tree.
- 10 Gauda (ಗೌಡ) Head man.
- 11 Harate (ಹರತೆ)
- 12 Hasibe (ಹಸಿಬೆ) Double bag.
- 13 Hāvu (ಹಾವು) A snake.
- 14 Honge (ಹೋಗ) Pongamia glabra.
- 15 Hurālī (ಹುರಳಿ) Horse gram.
- 16 Huvvu (ಹುವ್ವು) Flower.
- 17 Kaggallu (ಕಾಗ್ಗಲು) Hard stone.
- 18 Kālasti (ಕಾಳಸ್ತಿ)
- 19 Kāle (ಕಾಳೆ) A wristlet.
- 20 Kanne (ಕನ್ನೆ) A herb.
- 21 Kappa (ಕಪ್ಪ)
- 22 Macharagadakarū (ಮಚರಗಡಕರು)
- 23 Malle (ಮಲ್ಲೆ) Jassamine.
- 24 Manne (ಮನ್ನೆ)
- 25 Maruva (ಮರುವು)
- 26 Matti (ಮತ್ತಿ) A tree.
- 27 Muttina sattige (ಮುತ್ತಿನ ಸತ್ತಿಗೆ)
- 28 Nimbe (ನಿಂಬೆ) Lime fruit.
- 29 Sappakki (ಸಪ್ಪಕ್ಕಿ) Fine rice.
- 30 Sēmanti (ಸೆಮಂತಿ) Crysanthemum.
- 31 Sette (ಸೆಟ್ಟೆ)
- 32 Sògè (ಸೋಗಿ)
- 33 Surige (ಸುರಿಗೆ)



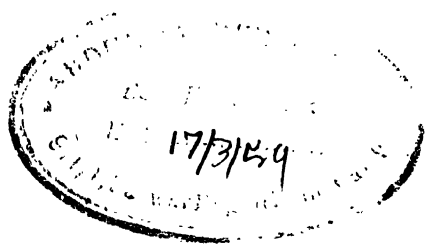














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